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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. I

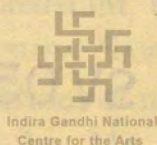
INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

NEW EDITION

BY

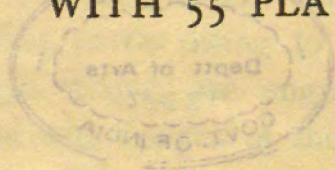
E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED



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WITH 55 PLATES



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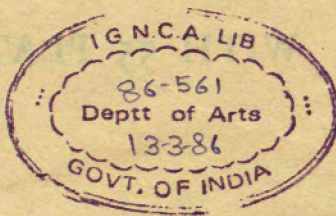
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PREFACE

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASTRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharōshthī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE,
October, 1922.

POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

E. H.

HALLE,
January, 1924.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archæological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archæological Survey of Western India.
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.
EI = Epigraphia Indica.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquary.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).
JA = Journal Asiatique.
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kāthiāvār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Girnār' mountain.¹ The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.'² The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman records the restoration of the lake Sudarśana, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaiśya* Pushyagupta, the provincial governor (*rāshṭriya*) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushāspa for Aśoka the Maurya.'³ Among local names it mentions Girinagara, i. e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and Ūrjayat, i. e. the mountain now called Girnār.⁴ The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A. D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Paṇḍadatta who was governor of Surāshṭra.⁵

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

¹ ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Girnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.

² ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

³ Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

⁴ EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṃgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Girnār mountain is Raivata or Raivatāka. See e.g. Hēmachandra's two *Kōśas*, loc. cit.: Māgha's *Śiśupālavadhā*, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.

edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Girnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.¹ Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgaṛh to Girnār.² At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Girnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.³ His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.⁴ Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,⁵ and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.⁶ These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Girnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Girnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Açoka den Buddhist*; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Girnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Girnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Girnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgaṛh Museum.⁷ Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Girnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Girnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial *ā*, at the top of *a*, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter *r* is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Girnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

¹ ASWI, 2. 95.

² JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.

³ Id., p. 871 ff.

⁴ Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

⁵ Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

⁶ JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.

⁷ They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

II. THE KĀLSĪ ROCK (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near **Kālsī**, a town in the Chakrātā tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an elephant is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43. 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *ś* and *śh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,² and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark 1, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name **Kharōshthī**. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.³ A number

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

² Also once in each of the Bairāt, Maski, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

³ JASB, 23. 714; *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharōshthī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.¹ It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.² The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōshthī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.³ His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanampiyasa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Gīrnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBRRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the **Kharōshthī** alphabet. **Mānsehrā** is the head-quarters of a tahsīl in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

² Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

³ JRAS, 8. 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,¹ and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.²

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888), 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12, 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43, 273 ff., and 44, 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2, 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.³ It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'⁴

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Gīrnār edicts (JASB, 7, 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Gīrnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,⁵ and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham⁶ showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugada rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

¹ JA (8), 11, 508.

² ZDMG, 44, 702.

³ Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajatame* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālsī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

⁴ JASB, 7 (1838), 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

⁵ The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them¹ was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, I. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at Jaugada, a ruined fort in the Berhampur taluka of the Ganjam district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'²

'The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'³

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhī, Gīrnār, and Dhauli.'⁴

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugada were edited with those of Dhauli by Prof. Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.⁵ Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41. 1 ff.). His

¹ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

² Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872). 219.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In JPASB, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *ś*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *śm*.

⁴ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugada inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

⁵ For references see above, under Dhauli.

second edition of the whole Jaugaḍa version (ASSI, I. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

Sōpārā is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'¹

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the **Bombay Asiatic Society**.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. THE DELHI-TOPRĀ PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.'² It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīma-sēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīrōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of **Fīrōz Shāh** (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills';³ that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present Tōprā, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōṭlā*) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern Delhi.⁴ An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

¹ JBBRAS, 15. 282.

² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

³ Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

⁴ See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6. 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Aśōka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśōka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,¹ the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Visaladēva of Śākambarī, son of Ānalladēva (EI, 9. 67, n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśōka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*² seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).³

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,⁴ I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, दानं. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter ञ, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāshṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *sya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *ā* and Anusvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānam* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167, and 5. 143 f.

² See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6–10.

³ Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, I. 379.

⁴ 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.'

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.¹ Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Firōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mirāṭh, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Firōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',² which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.³

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings,⁴ a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.⁵

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off⁶ and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'⁷

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mirāṭh pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mirāṭh pillar.

¹ The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

² Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 353.

³ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 168.

⁴ Id., 5. 144.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

III and IV. THE LAURIYĀ-ARARĀJ AND LAURIYĀ-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first **six edicts**, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.¹ Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Navandgarh pillars.² His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named **Lauriyā**, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kēsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *lingas* (Hindī *laurā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriyā, Cunningham combined with the former **Ararāj**, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgarh' is a mistake for '**Nandangarh**'.

The Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height above the ground.'³ According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of **Garuḍa**.⁴

The Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'⁵

Besides the Aśoka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor **Aurangzīb** and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.⁶

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

V. THE RĀMPURVĀ PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first **six edicts** is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at **Rāmpurvā** in the Champāran district, $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Betiyā.⁷ The relative positions of Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

¹ See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

² *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

³ *Id.*, p. 40.

⁴ *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

⁵ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see *id.*, plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

⁶ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

⁷ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22. 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.'¹ The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'²

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them³ (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing lion-capital.³ The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.⁴

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at Allahabad. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.'⁵ 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'⁶

Habent sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz.:
 - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
 - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
 - (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above b).
- (2) An inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1).
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.⁷ 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvāra.

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

² Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28.

³ JRAS, 1908. 1086, and plate I, fig. 1.

⁴ See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

⁷ See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y, v, s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar.¹

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;² but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'³

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, I. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (I, a), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr [4].'⁴ IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The Queen's edict (I, b) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,⁵ while the Kauśāmbī edict (I, c) was first noticed by Cunningham.⁶ Both were edited by Senart⁷ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19. 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbī edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.⁸

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kauśāmbī,⁹ which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.¹⁰ He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mirāṭh pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar.¹¹ This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal¹² and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam uchchhritah stambhah*, I. 30).

¹ JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

² Cf. JASB, 4. 127.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

⁴ Fleet in IA, 13. 305.

⁵ JASB, 6. 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

⁷ *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.

⁸ JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.

⁹ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

¹⁰ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2; also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.

¹¹ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

¹² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'¹

Jahāngīr's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.²

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sāmchī³ is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bhilsā and about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśoka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.'⁴ It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchī Stūpa.⁵

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sārṇāth, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Benares, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the Migadāya (i. e. 'deer-park') at Isipatana in which he preached his first sermon.⁶ Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśoka.⁷ He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'⁸

The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a Stūpa built by Aśōkarāja, and which was about 70 feet high.⁹

¹ Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38 f.

² See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

³ Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāñchī, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

⁴ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 42.

⁵ See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1. 111 f.

⁷ *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

⁸ V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

⁹ Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.

As Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *akṣaras* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king *Aśvaghōsha* which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the *Aśōka* edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early *Gupta* characters above the *Aśvaghōsha* epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the *Aśōka* edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of *Aśōka* about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāi. The pillar stands near the shrine of *Rummindōi*, about a mile to the north of the village of *Paṛariyā*, which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsil of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī.¹

The new *Aśōka* pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.'² The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,³ and records that *Aśōka* visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the *Buddha Śākya-muni* was born here', and that the king exempted the village of *Lummini* from taxes.

Both *Lummini* and the modern name *Rummindēi* must be identical with the *Lumbinī* grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.⁴ This identification is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by *Aśōkarāja* in the *Lumbinī* garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',⁵ which is now called *Tilār-nadī*, i.e. apparently 'the tēlī's or oilman's river'.⁶ He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the *Rummindēi* pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

¹ See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

² Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

³ EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the *Rummindēi* inscription see IA, 43. 17.

⁴ See the Introduction to the *Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbinī* see IA, 43. 18.

⁵ Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 6.

but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called **Nigālī Sāgar**, about a mile south of **Niglivā**. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsil of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Basti).¹

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.² It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.³

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9. 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5. 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōṇākamana** to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hiuen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.⁴ He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of **Kanakamuni Buddha**, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by **Aśōkarāja**. The *Stūpa* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.⁵

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

Rūpnāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station⁶ on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

'The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the **Kaimur** range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of **Bahuriband**.⁷ Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

¹ For the relative positions of Niglivā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

² Id., p. 30, and Führer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

³ For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

⁴ Beal's BRWW, 2. 19.

⁵ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

⁷ A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*.

after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *līṅga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.¹

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśōka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.'²

'The edict of Aśōka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.'³

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.⁴ Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.⁵

II. THE SAHASRĀM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihār. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called **Chandan-Pir**, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.'⁶

The edict of Aśōka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'⁷

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc. cit.). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr. Carlleyle about a mile to the north-east of **Bairāt**, the head-quarters

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

² Mr. Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

⁴ IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, id., 22. 299 ff.

⁵ *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11. 132 f.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhīm-kī-ḍuṅgrī* It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'¹

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'²

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block.³ According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bijak-Pahār* or "inscription hill".' It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as *tōp* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'⁴

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

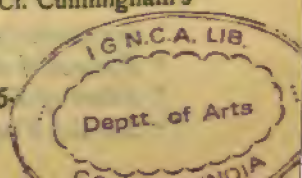
Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6. 98.

³ See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.



neighbourhood of **Maski**, a village in the Lingsugur tāluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgi or Maśigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muham-madans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapurī* of *Mosaṅgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅhaṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nāḍu*.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosaṅgi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Muśaṅgi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasīma II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.¹

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,² who describes the site as follows :

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvānā priya*, but in addition to it **Aśōka**,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*.

VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.³ They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.):⁴

'The Aśōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-haḷḷa or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

¹ See *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

² *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 1; *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

³ *Edicts of Aśōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

⁴ See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Molkālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura,¹ between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the Brahmagiri inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunte-māle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-guṇḍu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana guṇḍu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the *Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara* temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Baḷegāra-guṇḍu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note² we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

¹ According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.

² *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

IX. THE BARĀBAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181).

'The Hills called Barābar are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of Gayā' in South Bihār. 'Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'¹

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgārjunī, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two thousand years ago.'²

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgārjunī group.'³ Each of the three Nāgārjunī caves contains an inscription of Dashalatha *Devānāmpriya*, i.e. Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.⁴ Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king *Devānāmpriya*, and one (the so-called 'Lōmaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishṇava inscription of the Maukhari Anantavarman, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was Pravaragiri.⁵

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then *Khalatika*. Both the first and second inscriptions of king *Devānāmpriya* and the three Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the *Ājīvika* sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *Ājivikehi*. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Kṛishṇa, and two of the Nāgārjunī ones to Śiva and Pārvatī.⁶

The three Barābar inscriptions of king *Devānāmpriya* were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.⁷ They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart⁸ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (*IA*, 20. 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

THE king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Devānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*.⁹ This full

¹ Captain Kittoe in *JASB*, 16 (1847). 402.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 40.

³ *Id.*, p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see *id.*, plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1. 130 ff.; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 20.

⁴ For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (*EI*, vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.

⁵ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 222.

⁶ See *id.*, Nos. 48-50.

⁷ *JASB*, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-6.

⁸ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 209 ff., and *IA*, 20. 168 ff.

⁹ In a few cases (Kālsī rock-edict I, A; Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word *rājā* is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgarhī, I, A) the word *Priyadarśī*. Cf. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1908. 482.

form of his title is shortened into *Devānāmpriya* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Devānāmpriya* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśī rājā*. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Devānāmpriya Aśoka*. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only *Devānāmpriya*. On the Sāmchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāmchī and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.¹

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśī rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśī*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sāmbōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindēi pillar), and to the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Devānāmpriya* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavan*, *dīrghāyuh*, and *āyushmān*.² Pāṇini himself does not mention *Devānāmpriya*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (बन्धा आक्रोशे, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples चौरखकुलं, 'the family of a thief', and वृषलखकुलं, 'the family of a low-caste man'.³ Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Devānāmpriya* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word मूर्ख, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Devānāmpriya* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,⁴ while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Devānāmpriya* in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

¹ Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Bühler, IA, 7, 144 f.

² Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13, 337, n. 1.

³ Cf. वृषल्यःपुत्रः in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākṣha* Chāṇakya uses the term वृषल with reference to Chandragupta.

⁴ Cf. *Bāḷamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific.¹ In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.²

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Devānāmpiya* is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,³ and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka's grandson *Daśaratha*.⁴ In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānāmpiya* and *Devanāmpriya*, while the Gīrnār and Dhauli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāne*; and the word *Devānāmpiye* in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugada text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṃsa*⁵ as equivalents of *Aśoka*, the name of the great Maurya king.⁶ In the drama *Mudrārākṣha*,⁷ *Piadaṃsaṇa* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. Chandragupta, the name of Aśoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that *Priyadarśin* was a *Māgadha* king, i.e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was *Pāṭaliputra*; for, the words 'both in *Pāṭaliputra* and in the outlying [towns]' at Gīrnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyaka* at Gīrnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*'; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. *Turamāya* (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), *Antekina* (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgarhī), *Makā* (*Magā* at Gīrnār), and *Alikasudara* (*Alikeyashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānāmpiya Tissa* of Ceylon.⁸ This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at *Pāṭaliputra*. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha *Devānāmpiya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with *Daśaratha*, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśoka in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *A limine*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

¹ See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.

² See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. *dēva + anupriya*. Hēmachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Devānāmpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

³ See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 485. ⁴ IA, 20, 364 f. ⁵ See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

⁶ Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

⁷ Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the *Kautilyasastra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

⁸ JASB, 6 (1837), 472 f., 566 f.

might be meant as well ; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Dēvānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākshasa* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Antiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Antiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with **Antiochus III** of Syria.¹ In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Antikona*,² and *Magā*, whom he most ingeniously identified with **Ptolemy II** Philadelphus of Egypt, **Antigonus** Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and **Magas** of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to **Antiochus I or II** of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Magā*, is lost. The Shāhbāzgarhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*, and suggested hesitatingly that **Alexander of Epirus**, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.³ This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,⁴ Lassen,⁵ and Senart.⁶ But Professor Beloch now thinks that **Alexander of Corinth**, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.⁷

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280–261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261–246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285–247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276–239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300–c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272–c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252–c. 244.⁸ The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.⁹ If we assume that the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhishēka*, when Aśōka appointed '*Mahāmātras* of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

¹ JASB, 7. 156 ff.

² In reality Girnār and Kālsī read *Antekina*, and Shāhbāzgarhī *Antikini*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigènes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigènes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

³ JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

⁴ *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

⁵ *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

⁶ *IA*, 20. 242.

⁷ *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

⁸ The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3.

⁹ See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the Maurya dynasty Chandragupta, and as his two immediate successors Bindusāra and Aśōka. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus:

'Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśōka thirty-six years.'¹

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka thirty-seven years (V, 101).²

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.³

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.⁴

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśōka succeeded his father Bindusāra 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,⁵ and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or 218 years after the Nirvāṇa.⁶ The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.⁷

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A.B. 186–214, and the latter A.B. 162–186.⁸ If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B.C., the result is 382 B.C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources.¹ For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,⁹ who identified him with Σανδράκοττος of Παλίβοθρα, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

¹ See Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

² The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the *Dīpavaṃsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭasiva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 481, and 1909. 25.

³ *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, 3. 321.

⁴ Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2. 128.

⁵ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 20 f.

⁶ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

⁷ Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128 f.

⁸ According to Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A.B. 163–187, and Bindusāra 187–214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A.B. 189.

⁹ In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I. 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.¹

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.² Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.³ Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.⁴

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4:⁵

‘[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proeliorum insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus conpositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.’

McCrinkle translates this as follows:⁶

‘[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

¹ JRAS, 1909. 333, 335.

² *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII); *Dīpavaṃsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

³ Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: ‘This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.’

⁴ Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 94 ff.

⁵ Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119

⁶ *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster), p. 327 f.

life,¹ but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,² and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.'

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's 'Ρωμαϊκά, book Συριακή, chapter 55 :³

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.

'[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.'⁴

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.⁵ We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.⁶ Strabo adds that Deīmachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades :⁷

Ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Διήμαχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην⁸ τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.

'Megasthenes and Deīmachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country'.⁹

¹ According to the *Mudrārākshasa*, Chandragupta was a Vṛishala, i.e. a member of the Sūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.

² This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857). 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

³ Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1. 426.

⁴ M^cCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6. 114.

⁵ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 217 f.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44. 154 ff.

⁶ Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848). 398; M^cCrindle, *IA*, 6. 115.

⁷ *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

⁸ The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμτροχάδην or Ἀμτροχάτην.

⁹ M^cCrindle's translation, *IA*, 6. 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname **Amitraghāta**,¹ i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of **Antiochus** (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:²

Οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι Ἀντίοχῳ ἀξιούντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι· ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny³ we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent **Dionysius** as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśoka.⁴

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.'⁵ Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Paṭṇā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.⁶ With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvamsa* is accepted, **Chandragupta** would have ruled 320-296, and **Bindusāra** 296-268. **Aśoka** would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśoka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhishēka*. 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśoka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

¹ See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I. 92. The word *amitrāghāta* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909. 425.

² *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

³ *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

⁴ As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśoka's rock-edicts.

⁵ Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

⁶ JRAS, 1906. 985.

Antiochus II (261–246), and that the *Alīkasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśōka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kaliṅgas; rock-edict XIII.
2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sambōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.
3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):
 - (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
 - (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
 - (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
 - (4) He gave two caves to the Ājivikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.
5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana to the double (of its size); Nigālī Sāgar pillar.
6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājivikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lūhminī and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana; Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.
9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśōka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśōka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Gīrnār on the Kāthiāvār peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada in the Purī and Ganjām districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēi pillars in the Nepalese Tarāi and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was **Pāṭaliputra**, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Pāṭa*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sārnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśōka's capital. From the *Mudrārākṣaṣa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather **Chandragupta**. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the *Παλίβοθρα* or *Παλίμβοθρα* of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:¹

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵνα περ μακροτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐωντῆς ὄκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίου, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλησθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.'²

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern **Patnā** is well known to the Hindūs.³ The capital belonged to the ancient province of **Magadha**,⁴ which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśōka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.⁵ This is **Sambōdhi**, now **Bōdh-Gayā** to the south of Patnā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions **Kōsambī** (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern **Kōsam** (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśōka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,⁶ Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., **Ujjōnī** (*Ujjayinī*) and **Takkhasilā** (*Takshaśilā*). Aśōka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśōka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.⁷ Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the 'Οζήνη of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern **Ujjain** in the Gwalior State. Takshaśilā, the *Τάξιλα* of the

¹ Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Eberhard in *Arriani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

² McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 131.

³ Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

⁴ BRWW, 2. 82 ff.; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

⁵ BRWW, 2. 115.

⁶ BRWW, 1. 235 ff.; EI, 11. 141.

⁷ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 15; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāhdhōrī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.¹

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśōka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśōka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.²

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśōka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga**³ on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I–X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī**, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugaḍa belonged was called **Samāpā**,⁴ and the Jaugaḍa rock had then the name **Khēpiṅgala**.⁵

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rummindēī pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Lummini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbinī**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśōka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).⁶ Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas**, **Kambōjas**, and **Gandhāras**, the **Raṭhikas** (*Riṣṭika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*, at Gīrnār) and **Pitinikas** (also spelt *Pitēnika* or *Pētēnika*).⁷ As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul.⁸ Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the *Si-yu-ki*, its capital was **Purushapura**, now **Peshāvar**.⁹ The Raṭhikas or Rāṣṭikas (= *Rāṣṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāṭhīāvār, whose governor bore the title of *Rāṣṭriya*.⁹ The Pitinikas or Pitēnikas¹⁰ have not yet been localized.

¹ *Arch. Reports*, 2, 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

² Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

³ In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kaliṅgas' (from Telugu *mūḍu*, 'three', + *Kaliṅga*); see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkaliṅga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Mūḍugaliṅga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikaliṅga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

⁴ See the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, B, and II, B.

⁵ See the Jaugaḍa rock-edict I, A.

⁶ See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

⁷ See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

⁸ See Beal's BRWW, 1, 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Rigvēda*, and Gandāra in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

⁹ See the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rāṣṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

¹⁰ The identification of Pitēnika with Pratishṭhāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 262.

According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamiḷ country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.¹ The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (*Śōḷa* in Tamiḷ) were known to Ptolemy,² the Pāṇḍya king (Πανδύων) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparṇī (Ταμροβάρνη) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (*Sātiyaputa* at Kālsī) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully.³ The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called Κηρόβορπος in the *Periplus*⁴ and Κηρόβοθρος by Ptolemy.⁵

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparṇī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyoka and his four neighbours.⁶ The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*iha rāja-vishayē*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (*Nabhiti* at Shāhbāzgarhī), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitinikya* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince;⁷ and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhōjādhirāja*) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr.⁸ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.⁹ Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andaræ*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.¹⁰ As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.¹¹ The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.¹²

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

¹ See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

² See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

³ See Text, p. 3, n. 7.

⁴ ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

⁵ See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 99.

⁶ See above, p. xxx f.

⁷ Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

⁸ *Rājatarāṅginī*, V, verse 151; cf. EI, I. 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahābhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 100, and Senart, EI, 7. 50.

⁹ See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

¹⁰ See IA, 6. 339.

¹¹ The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I (sec. ed.). 1028.

¹² According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, I. xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 b) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 138.

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayinī, Tōsalī, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne¹ is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name *Kāluvākī* and was the mother of *Tivāla*.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the *Yavana* king *Tushāspha* who was governing Gīrnār in the time of the *Maurya Aśōka*.² Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātra*,³ or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādēśika*.⁴ Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at *Isila* were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at *Suvarṇagiri*.⁵ In two places⁶ we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at *Kōsambī*, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at *Pāṭa[liputra]*, and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāla* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rūpnāth edict, L, and in the Sārnāth edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*aṭavī*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsalī* and *Samāpā* were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nāgaraka*).⁷ At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,⁸ i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by Aśōka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',⁹ whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas and Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.¹⁰ Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Aśōka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.¹¹

Another class of high officers were the *Rājūkas*¹² or *Lajūkas*. They were 'placed

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

² See the Junāgarh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 47.

³ See the Dhauri separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

⁴ See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

⁵ See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

⁶ See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

⁷ See the first separate edict at Dhauri, A and Y, and at Jaugaḍa, B and Z.

⁸ See the second separate edict at Dhauri, F, and at Jaugaḍa, G.

⁹ See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

¹⁰ See the same pillar-edict, Z.

¹¹ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

¹² See the Gīrnār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men',¹ and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.² Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājūka* and *Lajūka* are derived from **Rajjūka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gāhaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jātaka*.³ The *Rajjūka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.⁴

Along with the *Rājūka* and the *Prādēśika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kautiliya*.⁵ The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dūta*) of *Dēvānāmpriya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśōka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōḍas and Pāṇdyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśōka's court.⁶

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).⁷ It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajūkas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśōka himself, were the 'reporters' (*prativēdaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.⁸ It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśōka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (*nāga-vana*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,⁹ the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

¹ See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

² See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

³ See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (*ἀρχοι*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

⁵ See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

⁶ See above, p. xxxv.

⁷ These are evidently the *ἑσποροι* or *ἐπὶ σκοπῶν* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. *Māgha*, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

⁸ See the Gīrnār rock-edict VI, D.

⁹ Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.

'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Aśvādhyaksha* and *Hastyadhyaksha* of the *Kautilīya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaksha* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśoka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharōṣṭhī characters,¹ showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.² The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Unādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharōṣṭhī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achæmenidan inscriptions.³ Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by *nipista*, *nipesita*, *nipesapita*,⁴ which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *ni-pish*, 'to write'.⁵ The words *ayi dhrama-dipi nipista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15 :—*[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vaināhy tyām adam niyapi[sha]m*, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written';⁶ and Xerxes says at Van :—*yanaīy dipim naiy nipishtām akunaush pasāva adam niyashṭāyam imām dipim nipishtanaīy*, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.⁷ The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nipista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of **Sindhu** and **Gandhāra** belonged to the Persian empire.⁸ The Kharōṣṭhī alphabet⁹ and the Persepolitan capital¹⁰ came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts: 'king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidan formula: *θātiy Dārayavaush (Xshayārshā, Artaxshathrā) xshāyathiya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspa, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrnār,¹¹ seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Irānians in his service.

¹ Brahmagiri, l. 13; Siddāpura, l. 22; Jātīnga-Rāmēśvara, l. 22.

² Bühler, EI, 3, 135.

³ Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

⁴ See JRAS, 1913, 654.

⁵ See id., 1914, 97.

⁶ See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

⁷ See id., p. 53 f.

⁸ The provinces of Hindu and Gandāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Ivdoí* and *Tavdápioi* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

⁹ See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

¹⁰ See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2, 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

¹¹ See above, p. xl and n. 2.

CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmīr historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.¹ According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśhēka*.² He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Vihāras* in as many towns, besides the *Aśokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.³

Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samgha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samgha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.⁴

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sāmchi, and Sarnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samgha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.⁵

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to Sāmbōdhi, i.e. Bōdh-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśoka visited Bōdhi in the company of the *Sthavira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at Lumbinī-vana, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rumindēi pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of Lumbini and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.⁶ On the Girnār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

¹ *Rājatarāṅginī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Śāntāvasāda*.

² See *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 18, 24; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

³ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20, 233, n. 18.

⁴ See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

⁵ See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

⁶ See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;¹ cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.²

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvana*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a Buddhist (*Śākya* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Śākya* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhitisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhitisāni* was a misreading for *adhatiyāni*, 'two and a half',³ Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3. 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,⁴ Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.⁵ Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*āṇapayati*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*;⁶ (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam*, *vratam*, or *brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;⁷ and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

¹ See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

² Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: *Bhagavato ūkranti* (read thus instead of *okramti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

³ See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

⁴ See *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 6.

⁵ Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657.

⁶ See Senart, IA, 20. 236.

⁷ See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upēta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.¹ Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*'.²

As stated above (p. xlv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sumi*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.³ Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.⁴ In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*dēva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāni*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.⁵ The 'festive meetings' (*samāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivaseti* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,⁶ this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārnāth and, along with it, *vivaseti* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.⁷ Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

¹ See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.

² *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 304.

³ This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 436.

⁴ See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

⁵ See JRAS, 1913. 652 f.

⁶ See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśoka himself,¹ when he had spent 256 nights² on tour. It follows that Aśoka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśoka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place; but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

- (a) Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a).
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśoka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the <i>abhishēka</i>	Conquest of Kaliṅga.
" 2	" " VIII	10 " " "	Visit to Sambōdhi.
" 3	Pillar-edict VI	12 " " "	Publication of rescripts on morality.
" 4	Rock-edict IV	" " " "	Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśoka's *abhishēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.³ If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśoka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kaliṅga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.⁴ Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśoka (i.e. the fierce Aśoka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśoka (i.e. the pious Aśoka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.⁵

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.⁶ But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśoka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

¹ See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

² The discovery of the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15, 520.

³ This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

⁴ See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

⁵ The same statement is made in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 382.

⁶ Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20, 235.

At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Dēvānāmpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* thirteen years after the *abhiśhka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;¹ but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.²

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Samgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Samgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sāmcī, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.³

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-śrāvana*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

¹ JRAS, 1911. 1097.

² id., 1910. 1307 f.

³ See above, p. xix.

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xliv), Aśōka's first proclamations (*śrāvana*)¹ were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.² In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C) :

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādēśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'³

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishēka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśōka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṃkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśōka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (*riṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śaḍbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*) :

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'

In the same spirit he says :

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E :

'(Thinking) : "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

¹ Rūpnāth, H, M ; Sahasrām, H, J ; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.

² Rūpnāth, J, K ; Sahasrām, L, M ; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

³ Cf. also the Dhauli separate edict I, Z—CC.

⁴ See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli, H, and at Jaugaḍa, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him ; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

⁵ See the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas,¹ Nirganthas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects² and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vachō-guṇṭi*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.³ The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhishēka*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *kōs* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R–T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhishēka*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajūkas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauli, J, K, Y; Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.'⁴ 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.' The *Dhammapada* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

¹ The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājīvikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśoka.

² Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

³ Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (*ὁδὸς βασιλική* = *rāja-patha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pāṭaliputra, which 'has been measured by *schoeni* (1 *σχοῖνος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id., p. 126).

⁴ Senart, IA, 20. 260.

us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.¹

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

'Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma-guṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.'

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious' (III, D).

'Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged' (IV, C).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas' (IX, G).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals' (XI, C).

'Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion' (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress 'in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants'.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.² As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmanical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns 'many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgarhi) and useless ceremonies' which women are practising 'during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey', and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.³ Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naïvely confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the 'abstention from killing animals' which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

¹ Senart, IA, 20. 26

² Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμάναι* and *Σαρμάναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6. 243.

³ Cf. the *Maṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V; JRAS, 1870. 312 ff.) or *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* (*Suttanipāṭa*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers 'the highest *maṅgala*'.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,¹ and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).² From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahimsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects :

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.³ But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ-NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD :

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods :

Sachchaṃ bhaṇe na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito ।
eteḥi tīni ṭhānehi gachchhe devāna santike ॥

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇaṃ kusalass' ūpasampadā ।
sachittaparyodapanam etaṃ Buddhāna sāsaṇaṃ ॥

¹ See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

² Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part I (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

³ This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nijhati*. Cf. *Suttanipāta*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*aśīlasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmē śīlē tiśhṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sila-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammaṭṭhaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark : *sukaraṃ hi pāpaṃ*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāṇi asādhūni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words : *dupaṭivekke chu kho esā*, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassaṃ vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresaṃ katākataṃ ।
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsīnava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jātāni*)¹ do not tally with the *āsavas* and *kilesas* of the Buddhists.² To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'³ and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugaḍa, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttitṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṃ sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prakrama*) for their subject.⁴ He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

¹ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, M, and at Jaugaḍa, N.

² See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

³ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, O, and at Jaugaḍa, P.

⁴ Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H ; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, G-I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakkhu*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,¹ is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273 :

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā ။

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.²

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada* :³

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhum sādhum jine ။
jine kadaryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavādinaṃ ။

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M–O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.⁴ And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P–U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada* : they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindū belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī); X, C; XI, E; XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauī separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K; the pillar-edict I, C; III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f.:

Chirappavāsīṃ purisaṃ dūrato sotthim āgataṃ ။
ñātimittā suhajjā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ ။
Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā paraṃ gataṃ ။
puññaṇi patigaṇhanti piyaṃ ñātiva āgataṃ ။

¹ See the pillar-edict II, D.

² Cf. the Dhauī separate edict II, G.

³ The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata*; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff.

⁴ See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavaṃ ॥

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa.¹ The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugaḍa formed part of the newly conquered country of Kāliṅga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Dēvānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhī:

'And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'²

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhiśhēka*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Sāmchī, and Sarnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
 - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maskī.
 - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

¹ See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

² See above, p. liii and n. 4.

(2) Rock-edicts.

(a) Edicts I-XIV at Gīrnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

(b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

(3) Pillar-edicts.

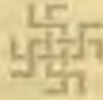
(a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mīraṭh, &c.

(b) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

III. Donative inscriptions.

(1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

(2) Queen's pillar-edict.



UNIVERSITY OF MUMBAI
Centre for the Study of
Ancient and Medieval India

CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *aushadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadha dialect.¹

The *e* of *eta* (= **itra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *garīyas* and the superlative *garishṭha*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prākṛits have *khu* (for **khlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.²

In the foreign name *Aṁtiyaka*=Ἀντίοχος, *ḍ* is expressed by *a*. In [A]nt[ek]ina=Ἀντίγονος, *e* and *i* correspond to *i* and *ḍ*, and in *Turamāya*=Πτολεμαῖος, *u* and *a* to *ḍ* and *ḍ*.

The Gīrnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ṛi*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *etārisa*, *tārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *ētādyīśa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripuchhā* and *vuta* (= *vrīta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānaṁṇa* (= *ānṛiṇyā*), *kacha* (= *krīṭya*), *kata*, *daḍha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magavyā*, *mata* (= *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *vislata*, *vyāpata*, *suhadaya*³ (IX, 7), *v[a]dhi* (= *vriddhi*, IV, 11). In *vaḍhi* (= *vriddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usaṭa*⁴ the *ṛi*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vraḥha* (= *vrīksha*, II, 8) the vowel *ṛi* is represented by the syllable *ra*, and in *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *śru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *potra*, *prapotra*, *osudha*, *-opaga* and *-opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānaṁtaram*⁵ (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāyī[ke]*⁶ (= *ātyāyikam*, VI, 7), *mādhuratā* (= *madhuratā*, XIV, 4), *ñātisu* (IV, 1), *abhikāra* (= **abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhīramaka* (VIII, 2), *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēśya*, XI, 3), *paṭibhā[g]a* (XIII, 4), *saṁpratīpati* (=Skt. *saṁpratīpatti*, IV, 2; also spelt *saṁpratīpati* and *saṁpatīpati*), *vīvāha*⁷ (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vījaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhī* (IX, 2), *paṁthesū* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitāni*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āradho*,⁸ *āradhī* (i.e. **āraddhi*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

¹ I use the term 'Māgadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhi of the Prākṛit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 284.

² S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23. 269 f.

³ This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhrid*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajja* in the *Dhammapada*.

⁴ This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsṛita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prākṛit *ussiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchhṛita*. In other words, the Gīrnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchhṛita* from the root *sṛi* instead of *śri*.

⁵ The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadha *ānaṁtaliyāni*; see the Dhāuli and Jaugada versions, VI, 4.

⁶ Kālsī, Dhāuli, and Jaugada have *atiyāyike*, Pāli both *achchāyika* and *achcheka* (i.e. **achchayika*).

⁷ Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vivāha*, and Pān. VI, 3, 122.

⁸ Cf. *āraddha-chitta* in the *Dighanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādḥ*. The short *a* of *etarisaṃ* (= *ētādrisaṃ*), *etārisani* (= *ētādrisāni*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *i* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in*:—*Priyadasi*, *hasti*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evamapi* (II, 2). The initial *i* of *iti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nisrito ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kinti* or *kiti*.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by *k* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίοχος* and *[A]nt[ek]ina* = *Ἀντίγονος*. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of *g* into *y*; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahuka*.

In *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*; cf. *vrachamti* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgarhī.

Skt. *ṇ* is preserved in *kalāna* (= *kalyāna*), *gaṇanā*, *charaṇa*, *prakarana* and *pakaraṇa*, *prāṇa* and *pāṇa*, *vinikhamana* (from *vinish-kram*), *sramaṇa* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *sh*:—*agena* (= *agrēṇa*), *parākramaṇa*, *putrena* and *putena*, *mitrena*, *abhīramakāni*, *rūpāni*, *sahasrāni*, *Gāndhārānam*, *gurūnam*, *thairānam*, *manusānam* and *mānusānam* (= *mānushānam*). On the other hand, lingual *ṇ* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *darsana* and *dasana* (= *darśana*), *saṃtīraṇā* (from *ārayati*), and without apparent reason in *Yona* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *ṛi* in *usata* and *vaḍhi*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *ṛi* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *ḍh* through the influence of the preceding *sh* in *osudha* (= Skt. *ausadha*), and *t* becomes *ṭ* after *r* in the preposition *paṭi* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṃpratipati*. In *lipi* (= *dipi* in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Gīrnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *iha*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumentals *bahūhi* (= *bahubhiḥ*), *tehi* (= Vedic *tēbhīḥ*), *paṭivesiyehi*, *satehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhū*, viz. *hoti* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhavat*), and *ahumsu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati*, *bhave*, *bhūta*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίοχος*, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamāyo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *yā* (II, 2) and *āva* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by *Samprasāraṇa*, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativēdayata* becomes *paṭivedetha*, while e.g. *pūjayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hāpayishyati*, *ārādhayitum*, *rōchayitavya*, *a-rōchayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavya*, *[a]-lochetpā*, while *ayi* remains in *dasayitpā* = Skt. *darśayitvā*. Similarly, Skt. *mayūra* becomes first **maūra* and then *mora* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai*: **trayadaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. **sama-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages **samachariya* and **samacharia*, becomes *samachaira* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.¹

Lingual *d* corresponds to Sanskrit *ḍ* in *mahiḍā*, and to Tamil *ḍ* in *Choḍa*. The *l* of *lochetavya* and *[a]-lochetpā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Māgadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by *r* in *Turamāyo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye* at Kālsī).² Another instance in which *r* corresponds to *l* is **arabhatē*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē*; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by *Samprasāraṇa* to *aii* and *o*. In this way *bhavati*, *abhavat*, *avarōdhana*, **avavāditavya* become *hoti*, *aho*, *orodhana*, *ovāditavya*. The contracted form *hoti* and its original,

¹ Cf. Geiger's *Pālī*, § 27, and *puiṇa* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *puṇya* and presupposes the intermediate forms **puṇiya* and **puṇiya*.

² If my explanation of *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauri, and Jaugaḍa (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, *supadarave* at Mānsehrā would be another wrong translation from the Māgadha dialect.

bhavati, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *thaira* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout: e.g. *paśu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*); Skt. *tat*, *ētat*, *yāt*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*; Skt. *bhavēt*, *abhavat*, *vasēyuh* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vaseyu*; and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imāya dhammānusaṣṭiya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chikīchha* (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative *tisṭeya* (for **tisṭhēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yaśaḥ*, *rāṇo* = *rājñāḥ*, *tisṭanto* = *tisṭhantah*, *Devānāmpriyo* = *Devānāmpriyah*); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadhā form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānāmpiye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Magā*, XII, 8; *sā* = Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10; *esā* = *ēśaḥ*¹) or *-a* ([*A*]m[*ek*]ina, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyah*, VIII, 5, and *esa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachiti*, *rati*, *hīni*, but *ī* in *līpī*, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānaṁ*, and *karuṁ* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindi, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛitam*, XIII, 1), *mādava*, *vinikhamāṇa*, *saka* (= *śakyam*), *ki* (IX, 9), *kiti* and *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *chhāti* (= *kshāntim*), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhim*), *susūmsera* (= *śūsrūshēran*), *karu* (for *karuṁ*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).²

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gaṇanāyāṁ*, *bhūtānāṁ*, *yesāṁ*, *nātināṁ*, *gurūnāṁ*, *anuvātaraṁ*); but it is preserved in *bhūtānāṁ* (XIII, 7), *pūjāṁ*, *yātāṁ*, *anuvīdhiyatāṁ*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (= Skt. *pūjām*, XII, 2), *mahāthāvah[ā]*, *susru[m]sā*, *susrusatā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *tesa* (= *tēśhām*, XIII, 4) and *saṁtiraṇāya* (loc. sing. of *saṁtiraṇā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opayā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-amñāthā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,³ and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evamapi* (II, 2) and *katavyam-eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]ñam-amñāsa (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesu* (= *bhrītā-ryēshu*, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a* + *ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*; e.g. *nāsti*, *dhammānusa-sanaṁ*, *prāṇāraṁbho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhamm-avāyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhistānāya* (V, 4), *et-ayam* (= **itra* + *ayam*, VIII, 3); before *e* in *etāy-eva* (III, 3), *ch-eva* (IV, 7; XIV, 3), *ch-esā* (XIII, 4), *ta[tē]ta* (= *tatraitat*, IX, 4), *ten-esā* (VIII, 3); before *o* in *m[a]nus-opagān[i]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o[pa]gāni* (II, 6). The result of *ī* + *a* is *ī* in *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) *tp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhiṭpā*, *dasayitpā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*, *-hitatpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *chatpāro*, *ātpa-*.

(b) *vy* (written *vu*) in *vyamjanato*, *vyasanaṁ*, *vyāpatā*, *apa-vyayatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, *katavya*, *vataavyam*, *prajūhitavyam*, *ovādītavyam*, *vijetavyam*, *lochetavyā*, *paṭ[i]vedita[v]yam*.

¹ Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

² It deserves to be noted that in the Rīgvēda *eva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *ēvam*.

³ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.

(c) *ṣṭ* (written *ṣs*) in *anusasṭi*, *seṣṭe*, *tiṣṭanto*, *tiṣṭeya*, *ṣṭitā*, *-adhikṣṭānāya*, *uṣṭāna*, *niṣṭānāya*.

Although in the words given under (a) *ṭp* is written as *pt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *ṭp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dbādasa* = Skt. *dvādaśa* (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question but that *db* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dv* becomes *db*, then Indic *tv* surely should become *ṭp*. Hence gerunds in *-ṭpā* (Skt. *-tvā*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *āṭpa-* (Skt. *ātma-*) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) *vy* which is written *yv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanam*, but *-tayva*, as the same symbol is used in all cases. *yvasanam* would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that *yv* is correct from the analogy of *yh* from Skt. *ky* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bb* (or 'remains') in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ṣs* has been transcribed by *ṣṭ*, although Franke (*Gurupūjākaumudī*, p. 26, note) thinks that *ṣs* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gīrnār alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *kr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rk*, *rt*, *rp*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahasra*, *srūnāru*, *bahu-srutā*, *susrūsā*, *srāvāpakaṁ*, *-sramaṇānaṁ*, *-nisrito*, *a[pa]-parisrave*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsaṇā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varsābhisito* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vrachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvata* or *sarvatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form *-puluva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-purva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting it before the *v*; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānschrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśōka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. *aggi* = Skt. *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *laddha* = *labdha* becomes *ladha*, *gabbha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijjhatti* = **nidhyapti* is spelt *nijhati*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. *dhanima* and *dhama* = *dharma*, *añña* and *aṇṇa* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākṛits; e.g. *ñāti* = Skt. *jñāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāṇa* = *prāṇa*, *bhātrā* = *bhrātrā*, *chhuda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = **karshyati*, *dhāma* (also *dhanima*) = *dharma*, *vāsa* (also *varsa*) = *varsha*, *chikīchhā* = *chikitsā*, *rājūka* (from *rajju* or *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see *anusasṭi* = Skt. *anuśasṭi*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āryēshu*, *kiti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kīrti*, *digha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *dirgha*, *puva* (i.e. *puvva*) = *pūrva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyati*), *anuvīdhiyare* and *anuvīdhiyatām* (from Skt. *anuvīdhiyatī*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhuyya*, *anuvīdhiyyare* and *anuvīdhiyyatām*, and that consequently *tiṣṭeya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tiṣṭēyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act.¹ But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see *asamāt[a]m* (= Skt. *asamāptam*), *āchāy[ke]* (= *ātyayikam*), *āñapayāmi* (= *ājñāpayāmi*), *āṭpa-* (= *ātma-*), *tadāṭpano(ne)*, *nāsti*, *parākrama*, *brā[ṇ]haṇa* and *bāmhaṇa* (also *bramhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *mādava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāsthāvaka* (= *mahārthāvaka*), *rāñā*

¹ Similarly *nichā* may represent **nichchā*, into which *nichā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914. 844.

(= *rājñā*), *Ri(Rā)stika* (= *Rāshṭrika*), *sūpāthāya* (= *sūpārthāya*), *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *tī[v]o* (= *tivrah*), *sāmīp[am]* (= *sāmīpyam*).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Tambapānnī* (= Skt. *Tāmrāparṇī*) and *Devānāmpriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atīkrāta* and *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *[ā]parātā* (= *āparāntāḥ*), *chhāti* (= *kshānti*), *[n]iyātu* (= *niyāntu*), *Pādā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bhāḍa* (= *bhāṇḍa*), *karote* (for **karonte*, IX, 3), *karoto* (for **karonto*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for **hoṁti*). In *avihīsā* (IV, 6) *ī* has taken the place of the *im* of *vihimsā* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susru[m]sā*, *susumsā*, *susumsera* the short nasalized vowel *um* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrusā* (III, 4), and in *susrusā* and *susrusatā* the Anusvāra of *um* is omitted.¹ There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel:—*magala* (IX, 3) = *maṅgala*, the two 3. pers. plur. *ichhati* (VII, 2) and *prāpuṇati* (XIII, 4), *sambadha* (XI, 1) = *sambandha*, *sastuta* (twice) = *saṁstuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *saṁkṣāya*, *pāsaḍa* (twice) = *pāshaṇḍa*, *sayama* = *saṁyama*, *savaṭa* (also *saṁvaṭa*) = *saṁvarta*, *kich[i]* (also *kiṁchi*) = *kiṁchit*, *kiti* (also *kiṁti*) = *kimiti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsaḍa* (= Skt. *pārshada*) is a recognised variant of *pāsaṁḍa* (passim); cf. *prashaḍa* and *prashamḍa* at Shāhbāzgarhī. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savaṭa* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichi* and *kiti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchi* and *kitti* = **kid + chid* and **kid + iti*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gīrnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt. *garhati* and *garhā*), *i* in *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēśya*), *puñña* (for **puñya* = Skt. *puṇya*), *samachaira* (for **samachariya* = Skt. **sama-charya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpuṇati* (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. *prāpuṇōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *ithi* (i.e. *itthi*, = Skt. *stri*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gīrnār equivalents.

kt becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhisita*, *bhati*, *yuta*, *vatavyam*, *vutam*.

ky becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *saka*.

kr remains in *atīkrāt[a]m* (VI, 1), *parākramāmi*, *parākramena*, but becomes *k* in *atīkātam*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate* (X, 3).

kś becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.

ksh becomes *kh* in *ithijhakha*, *saṁkhit[e]na*: *chh* in *chhaṇati*, *achhatiṁ*, *chhamitave*, *chhāti*, *chhudam*, *chhudakena*, *vrachhā*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

gr becomes *g* in *agena*, *-anugaho*.

jñ becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *katamñātā*, *rāñā*, *rāño*, *añapayāmi*, *añapayisati*, *añapitam*, *ñāti*, *ñātika*.

dy becomes *ḍ* in *Pādā* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyāḥ*).

ny becomes *mñ* in *ānāmñam*, *hirāmñā*; *mñ* or *ñ* in *apumñam* and *puñnam*.²

tm becomes *tp* in *ātpa*-. Cf. *tp* = *tv*, below.

ty becomes *ch* in *[a]pacham*, *āchāyī[ke]*, *ilokachasa*, *ekachā*, *kacham*, *parichajitpā*, *prachamitesu*.

Other instances of palatalization are *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*.

tr remains or becomes *t*; see e.g. *trī* and *tī*, *tatra* and *tata*, *añatra* and *añata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mitra* and *mīta*, *mahāmātra* and *mahāmāta*.

tv becomes *tp* in *chatpāro*, *ārabhitpā*, *[a]-lochetpā*, *dasayitpā*, *parichajitpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *-hitatpā*. Cf. *db* = *dv* in *dbādasa*.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikichhā*; *s* in *usaḥena*.³

stth becomes *sṭ* in *usthāna* for **ut-sthāna*,⁴ while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajetha*; *y* in *nyānesu*.

¹ Perhaps *susrusā* is meant for *susrussā*, as *bhuya* for *bhuyya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pāli*, § 6.

² For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

³ Cf. *thāna* = Skt. *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

⁴ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

dr becomes *d* in *chhudam*, *chhudakena*.

dv remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *ithijhakha*, *nijhatī*, *majhamena*.

dhr remains in *dhruvo*, [*A**]*ndhra*.

ny becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *amñā* and *añā*, *manñate* and *manate*, *ñayāsu*. Cf. *apumñā* = Skt.

apunya.

pt becomes *t* in *gutī*, *nijhatī*, *asamāṭ[a]m*, *saṁkhiṭ[e]na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *pun* in *prāpunati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

py becomes *p* in *sāmīp[am]*.

pr remains or becomes *p*; see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *prāṇa* and *pāṇa* (IX, 5), *Devānampriya* and *Devānampiya*, *Priyadasi* and *Piyadasi*, *pratipatī* and *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4), *saṁpratipatī* and *saṁpaṭipatī* (IV, 6).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.

br remains in *brā[m]haṇa* (IV, 2) and *brahmaṇa* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *bāmhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa* (IX, 5).

bhy becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.

my remains in *samya-*.

mr becomes *m̐b* (through the intermediate stage **mbr*) in *Tambapamñī*.

rg becomes *g* in *svaga*.

rg becomes *gh* in *dighāya*.

rn becomes *m̐n* in *Tambapamñī*.

rt becomes *t* in *katavya*, *kiti* or *kīti*, *anuv[a]tare*, *anuvatarām*, *anuvatisare*; *ṭ* in *saṁvaṭa* or *savaṭa*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha*.

rd becomes *d* in *mādava*.

rdh becomes *dh* in [*pra**]*vadhayisam̐ti* (IV, 9); *dh* in *vaḍhayati* (XII, 4), *vaḍhayisati* (IV, 7), *vaḍhita*. Cf. *ṭ* for *rt* in *saṁvaṭa*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgāramhi*.

rm becomes *m̐m* or *m* in *kaṁma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dham̐ma* and *dhama*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu*,¹ but is represented by *riy* in *samachairam̐*, which presupposes the form **samachariyam̐* (= Skt. **sama-charyam*); see above, p. lvii.

rv remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt. *pūrva* we have *puva* in IV, 5, while *pruva*, which is probably meant for *purva*, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.

rs becomes *rs* in *vimāna-darsaṇā*, but *s* in *hasti-da[sa]ṇā*, *dasane*, *dasayitpā*, *Priyadasi*; *daspanam̐* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanam̐*.

rsh becomes *rs* in *varsa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt. *varsha*).

rshy becomes *s* in *kāsati*, *kāsam̐ti*, *kasa[m̐]ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*, *garahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapā*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalāṇa*.

vy remains in *vyam̐janato*, *-vyayatā*, *vyasanam̐*, *vyāpatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, and in the affix *-tavya* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūjetayā* (XII, 4).

vr becomes *v* in *tī[v]o*, [*pa*]*vajitāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. *vraja*.

sch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* = *sk*, *shkr*, *ksh*; *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*; *th* = *str*.

śy becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *siy* in *paṭivesiyehi* (XI, 3).

śr becomes *sr* in *sramaṇa*, *susrūsā*, *susru[s̐]sā*, *susrusā*, *susrusātā*, *bahu-srutā*, *srāvāpakam̐*, *nisrito*, but *s* in *samaṇa*, *susumsā*, *susum̐sera*, *seṣṭe* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭham̐*).

śv becomes *sv* in *sveto*.

shk becomes *k* in [*du*]*katam̐*, *dukaram̐*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *vinikhamāṇa*.

¹ The 3. plur. imper. act. [*n*]*iyātu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*; cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *nī-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

shtr becomes *ṣṭ* in *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika*.

sth loses its aspiration and becomes *ṣṭ* in *seṣṭe*, *tisṭeya*, *tisṭamto*, *niṣṭānāya*, *-adhisṭānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhi forms *ṣustu* = Skt. *sushṭhu* and *koṣṭāgālaṃ* = *kōṣṭhāgāram* (Hēmachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Gīrnār *ṣṭita* = Skt. *sthita*, *uṣṭāna* = **ut-sthāna*, *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika* = *Rāshṭrika*, *anusasṭi* = *anusāṣṭi*.

shy becomes *s* in *manusa*, *āṇapayisati*, and in other futures.

sk becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]ṃdhāni*.

st remains in *asti*, *nāsti*, *hasti*, *saṃstuta*, *viṣṭata*; it becomes *ṣṭ* in *anusasṭi*.

str becomes *th* in *ithi*.

sth becomes *th* in *thaira*, *st* in *gharastāni*,¹ and *ṣṭ* in *ṣṭitā*.

sm becomes *mh* in the locatives in *-amhi*.

sy becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa*, *asu* of root *as*.

sr remains in *sahasra* and *a[pa]-parisrave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).

sv remains in *svaga*, *svāmikena*, *svayaṃ*, but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).

hm becomes *mh*, as in Prākṛit, in *bamhaṇa* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *brāhmaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.	} neut. <i>dānaṃ</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c.		Masc. <i>yute</i> , <i>athe</i> ; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>rūpāni</i> .
Instr. <i>janena</i> , &c.		<i>paṭivesiyehi</i> , <i>satehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athāya</i> , &c.		
Abl. <i>kapā</i> , <i>-hitatpā</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .		
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.		<i>thairānaṃ</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>kāle</i> , &c.		<i>thairesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala*, *mata*, *mādava* (acc.), *vinikhamāṇa*. In many instances the Māgadha termination *-e* is used; (a) masculines:—*parisave*,² *a[pa]-parisrave*, *Devānaṃpiye* (XII, 1), *prādesike*, *bhā[g]e*, *rājūke*, *sakale*, *sayame*; (b) neuters:—*āchāyī[ke]*, *kaṇime*, *-charaṇe*, *tārise*, *dasane*, *dāne*, *-puve*, *bahuvidhe*, *maṃgale*, *-mate*, *mah[ā]-phale*, *mahālake*, *mūle*, *yārise*, *vadhite*, *vip[ul]e*, *seṣṭe*. The wrong form *-paṭividhāno* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Gīrnār version thoughtlessly replaced the *-e* of the Māgadha neuter *paṭividhāne* by *-o*, as in the masculine *jano*, &c. = Māgadha *jane*, &c. The foreign name *[A]m[ek]ina* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Magā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat. sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athāya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3, and Michelson, JAOS, 31. 240.

Loc. sing.—In *pravāsaṃmhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination *-e* occurs also in *pakarane*, *prakarane*, *Pāṭalipute*, *viṣāye*, *viṣite*, *sarasake*; *tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.³

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination *-āni*, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhi dialect, in four instances:—*agi-kh[a]ṃdhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsaṃdāni cha* *[pa]vajitāni cha* *gharastāni cha* *pūjayati* (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *vimāna-darsanā cha* *hasti-da[sa]nā cha* (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *paṃthesū* (II, 8).

¹ In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hēmachandra, II, 144, Skt. *gṛiha* is replaced by *ghara*.

² The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1004 and n. 5.

³ Cf. *-paṭividhāno* for *-paṭividhāne* in the nom. sing.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.	(a) <i>katā</i> (II, 4); (b) <i>mahidāyo</i> .
Acc. <i>pūjām</i> , <i>yātām</i> .	
Instr. <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Loc. <i>gaṇanāyaṁ</i> , <i>parisāyaṁ</i> .	

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahāthāvak[ā]* (X, 1), *susru[m]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *saṁtīraṇāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In *chikichha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -āo in the Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. <i>trī</i> , <i>tī</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>ñātīnaṁ</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>ñātīsu</i> .

The nom. plur. in -i is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380.

(2) Feminines in -ī and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>līṭī</i> , &c.	<i>aṭaviyo</i> .
Acc. <i>Sambodhiṁ</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>-anusastīyā</i> , <i>bhastīyā</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anusastīya</i> (with final <i>ā</i> shortened).	
Nom. sing.—The final <i>i</i> remains short in <i>apachiti</i> , <i>rati</i> , <i>kini</i> .	
Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in <i>kiti</i> (X, 2), <i>kīti</i> (X, 1), <i>chhāti</i> (XIII, 11), <i>v[a]dhi</i> (IV, 11).	

III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurūnaṁ* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bahūni*, and instr. plur. *bahūhi*. The nom. sing. *sādhu* is the same in all three genders.

IV. BASES IN -ri.

Instr. sing. masc. <i>pitā</i> (for <i>pitrā</i>), <i>bhātrā</i> or <i>bhāt[ā]</i> .
Loc. sing. <i>pitari</i> , <i>mātari</i> and <i>mātr[i]</i> .

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyaṁ* (VI, 7). The present participle *sat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*. Of bases in -an, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *paṁthesū*, and the neuter *karman* the Māgadha nom. sing. *kaṁme* and the dat. sing. *kaṁmāy[a]*.

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. <i>karuṁ</i> or <i>karu</i> .
Nom. plur. masc. <i>tistamto</i> .

The nom. sing. *karuṁ* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karōti*. In *karu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for **karomto*) and *saṁto* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>rājā</i> .	<i>rājāno</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	
Instr. <i>rāñā</i> .	
Gen. <i>rāño</i> .	

In the nom. sing. masc. [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yona-rājā*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Priyadasi</i> , <i>hasti</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>Priyadasinā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>Priyadasino</i> .

(4) Neuters in *-as*:

Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyah*).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. <i>aham</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>mayā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>mama</i> , <i>me</i> .

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>so</i> } neut. <i>ta</i> .	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc.	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Dat. <i>tāya</i> .	<i>tehi</i> .
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>te[sa]m</i> , <i>tesa</i> .
Loc. <i>tamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *sā*.

In *pīti-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in *-ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *ta*) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadha equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base *na*.

Acc. plur. masc. *ne*; neut. *nāni*.

For this pronoun see Hēmachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> (X, 3), ¹ <i>esā</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etan</i> , <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>eta</i> (XI, 3).	
Dat. <i>etāya</i> , <i>etakāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etamhī</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. *esā* (VIII, 5; ² XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10) and *Magā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *eta* (= Skt. *etat*) occurs twice, and *etan* once (X, 4), while the masculine

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

² See Text, p. 15, n. 7.

form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa siram* (= Skt. *ētachchhirak*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *saḥ* and *tat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ayam</i> ; neut. <i>idam</i> , <i>ayam</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>idam</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>imamhi</i> .	
	Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyam</i> , <i>ayam</i> .
	Dat. sing. fem. <i>imāya</i> .

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idam* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayam* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyam* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayam* is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *ki* (for *kim*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kam*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kimchid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kochi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kimchi* or *kich[i]* (X, 3). The compound *kimti* or *kiti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>yo</i> ; neut. <i>ya</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>ya[m]</i> .	
Gen. <i>yasa</i> .	<i>yesam</i> .
	Nom. plur. fem. <i>yā</i> .

The acc. sing. neut. *ya[m]* is found only in X, 3, while *ya* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>amñe</i> ; neut. <i>añ[a]</i> , <i>añe</i> .	Masc. <i>a[m]ñ[e]</i> , <i>añe</i> } neut. <i>añāni</i> .
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. <i>añāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>[a]ñamamñasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>añamhi</i> .	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *amñe* (VIII, 5) and *añe* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms,¹ while *añ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>sarvam</i> , <i>savam</i> .	Masc. <i>savē</i> .
Loc. <i>sarve</i> , <i>s[a]ve</i> .	<i>[sa]vesu</i> .

(10) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekataramhi*.

(11) Base **ekatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekachā*.²

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii.

² The corresponding Pāli form is *ekachche*; see Childers, s.v., and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 113.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*; fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Gīrnār dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trī*, *tī*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *chatpāro*.

Five.

Loc. *pañchasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

dasa, *dbādasa*, *traidasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasrāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parākramāmi*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate*. The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *kramatē* in the middle.

Root *gam*: *gachheyāmi*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *ḍṛś*: *pasati* (i.e. *passati* = Skt. *paśyati*).Root *bhū*: *bhavati* and *hoti*.

Root *labh*. The absolutive *ārabhitpā* and the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare* presuppose the present **ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabbhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vaseyu*.Root *vṛt*: *anuv[a]tare*.Root *sthā*: *tisteya*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.Root *yā*: *[n]iyātu*.Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class: *upahanāti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *prajūhitavyam* presupposes the present **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati* (for **juhvati*); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajetha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*).Root *man*: *manāate* (= Skt. *manyatē*).

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class : *prāpuṇāti* (for °*ṇanti*).¹

Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active *sruṇāru*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both *bhuj* (*bhujy*[*a*]mānasa, VI, 3) and *yuj* (*yujamtu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhaṇāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With *aya*: *pūjayati*, *dasayitpā*, *dīpayema*, *ārādhayaṃtu*, *vaḍhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetha*, *paṭ[i]vedeta*[*ṣ*]yam, *pūjetayā*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetayā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*.

(b) With *paya*: *hāpesati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *jñā* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *paya* in *āñāpayāmi*. With this agrees the Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, while Pāli has *āṇāpeti* with long *ā*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likhāpayisaṃ*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khānāpita*, *lekhāpita*, *hārāpita*, *srāvāpaka*. In *lekhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guṇa, while in *likhāpayisaṃ* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya*: *ropāpita*.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

Active.

1. sing. *parākramāmi*, *karomi*, *āñāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhaṇāti*, *pūjayati*, *vaḍhayati*.

3. plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2), *prāpuṇāti* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-nti* instead of *-ti*.

Middle.

3. sing. *pari(rā)k[a]mate*, *maññate* or *mañate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *kurutē*.

3. plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for **karōnte*. The termination is *-re* in *anuv[a]tare* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuvatisare*, in the two passives *anuvīdhiyare* and *ārābhare*, and in the future passive *ārābhisare*. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Pāli; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachheyaṃ* and the imperative *ārādhayaṃtu*.

3. sing. *maññā* (XIII, 11) from *maññate*. Cf. *paśyāt* and many other Vedic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.

1. sing. *gachheyaṃ*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt* from root *as*), *bhave*, *tisṭeya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-eyya*.

1. plur. *dīpayema*.

3. plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*), *vaseyu*.

¹ Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāṇṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504.

Middle.

3. sing. *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129.

3. plur. *susumsera* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṃ* = Skt. *-ran*.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. *paṭivedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prākṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujāntu*, *ārādhayāntu*, [*n*]iyātu (with *-tu* for *-ntu*), *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) from **sruṇāti* = Skt. *śṛṇōti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susumsera*, and the imperative *anuvataṛam*.

Middle.

3. sing. *anuvidhiyatām* (passive) and *susrusatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuvataṛam* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vēdic imperative *duhrām*. The middle termination *-ram* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-ntām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-ntē*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-ran* agrees with Gīrnār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for **abhot* = Skt. *abhavat*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 30, last section.

II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. **nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nis*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *alumsu* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *āsimsu* on *āsi* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārabhisu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabhare* (I, 11) = Skt. *ālabhyantē*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. *āha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. *likhāpayisaṃ* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āñāpayisati*, *vaḍhayisati*, *hāpesati*, *kāsati* (= Pāli *kāhati*) from **karshyati*.

3. plur. [*pra*]**vaḍhayisaṃti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *kāsaṃti* and *kasa[m]ti* from root *kṛi*.

Middle.

3. plur. *anuvatisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabhisare* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bbh*; cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabhisu*, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīrnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ālabhyatē* and *anuvidhiyatē*:

3. plur. indicative *ārabhare*, *anuvidhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabbhare*, *anuvidhiyyare*; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative *anuvidhiyatām*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabhisu*.

3. plur. future *ārabhisare*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susumsera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śusrūshatē*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *sthā*: nom. plur. masc. *tistānto*.

Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *sanito*.

Root *kṛi*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karuṃ*, *karu*.

Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhujy*[*a*]māna.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛita*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vistata* (= *vistr̥ita*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *nisṛita* (= **nīsr̥ita*), *ṣṭita* (= *sthita*), *atīkrāta* (VI, 1) or *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *vuta* (= *ukta*), *saṃāta* (= *saṃāpta*), *saṃkhita* (= *saṃkshipta*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āṇapita*, &c. The participles *viṇita* and *vinīta* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasam̐na*.

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavya*), *vataavya* (= *vaktavya*), *prajūhitavya* (from **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati*), *ovāditavya* (from Pāli *ovadati*), *viṇetavya* (from *vi-ji*), *pūjetavya* (= *pūjayitavya*), *lochetavya* (= *rōchayitavya*), *paṣ[i]vedeta*[*v*]ya.

(b) In *-ya*: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛitya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= *śakya*).

VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *ārādhayitum*).

(b) Dative: *chhamitave* from root *ksham*; cf. Vedic forms like *charitave*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

IX. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ārābhītpā*, *parichajītpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayītpā* (from causative of *dr̥iś*), [*a*]-*lochetpā* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) The only absolute in *-ya* is *sakhāya* from *saṃ-kṣā* (= *saṃ-khyā*).

F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛit* suffixes.

(a) *-anā*: *saṃtīraṇā* from Skt. *tīrayati*.

(b) *-ti*: *nijhati* = **nidhyapti*, *anusastī* = Skt. *anusāsti* (Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, 5. 991), while Pāli *anusīṭṭhi* agrees with Skt. *anusīṣṭhi*.

(c) *-ni*: *hīni* (IV, 11) from root *hā* on the analogy of the participle *hīna*.

The first member of the compound *vachi-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31. 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhī *vaī* or *vaī* = **vāchī*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes.

(a) *-ka*: *rājūka* (from *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *etaka*, *y[ā]vata[k]a*, *tāvataka*, *sarasaka*, *ñātika*.

(b) *-āka*: *mahāka* (from Skt. *mahat*) = Prakṛit *mahālaya* and *mahallaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp. 402, 404).

(c) *-ika*: *ilokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) *-tya*: *ilokacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6). The first component of *ilokacha* and *ilokika* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt. *itara*, *itas*, and *iha* (for *idha*) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.

(e) *-tara*, added to participles and substantives: *bādhataranī*, *katavyataranī*, *kaṃmataranī* from Skt. *karman*.

(f) *-tvana*: *tadātpano(ne)*; see Text, p. 18, n. 8.

G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātaṃ amtaraṃ*, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dighāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *pañchasaṃ vāsesu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *sarve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadātpano(ne)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:—*so t[a]thā karu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3:—*bhūñj[a]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhavati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *kṛta*, II, 4), *sādhu-matā* (I, 6 f.), and *katavya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *vā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantra*; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *vaḍhiyati* (= *vardhayati*), *vaḍhiyisati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*,¹ *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*. In *giḥ[i]tha* (= *grihastha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udapāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *Alīkyashudale* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name Ἀλέξανδρος from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *sundara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *heta* or *hetā* (= **itra*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*; see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *heḍisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *ī* of Skt. *īdṛīsa*.²

The *a* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*; cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manushya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *manuśa* (i.e. *manuśsa*) at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *sh*.³ In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ṛi* is lost. It becomes *a* in *[a]naniya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*), *[u]shaṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*,⁴ *gahaṭa* (= *grihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhati*, *bhaṭa*,⁵ *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vataṃ* (= *vṛittam*, X, 27), *vaḍhi* and *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), *viṭhaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; *i* in *edisa* and *heḍisa*, *tādisa*, *[ā]disa* (= *yādṛīsa*), *kiṭanāt[ā]* (= *kṛitajñātā*), *giḥ[i]tha*, *diḍha*, *paṇātikya* (= **pranapṭrika*), *pitisu*, *bhātinā*, *mige*, *migaviyā*; *u* in *ushuṭa*,⁶ *shune[y]u*,⁷ and after a labial in *a[gabhu]t[i]*, *palipuchhā*, *nī[v]uti* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vutaṃ* (= *vṛittam*, XIII, 11), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ṛi* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *heḍisa* = Skt. *īdṛīsa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *[lu]kha* (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vṛi* of Skt. *vṛiksha*; cf. Greek λύκος = Skt. *vṛika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

¹ The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.

² Pāli has *edisa* and *erisa*, Prākṛit *īdisa* and *erisa*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

³ Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadha *pulisa* = Skt. *purusha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *vikāṭa* (for *vikṛita*), *utkāṭa*, *saṃkāṭa*.

⁵ This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

⁶ Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna* = Skt. *udapāna*.

⁷ Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śru*.

Grammatik, vol. I, § 184, b). The Gīrnār equivalent *vachha* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prakṛit *rukha* from Skt. *ruksha* (*Rigveda*, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*VIIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *nī[che]* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-e*; the second becomes *o* in *papotā* (XIII, 15), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ya]*.

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[tiyāyike]* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *uyāma* (= *udyama*), *lāti* (= *ratī*, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchāvuchā-* (VII, 21), *kiṭanā-* (= *kṛitajña*, VII, 22), *v[i]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *śālā-* or *śh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śhāvā-* (= *sarva*, XII, 31), *samanā-* (= *śramana*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. *ajā* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *atra* and *yatra*), *anatā* (= *anyatra*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *āhā*, *evā* or *vā*, *chā*, *janasā*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānenā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nikhamithā*, *Piyadasisā*, *mamā*, *hidā* (= *iha*), *hetā* (= **itra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *osadhīn[i]* (II, 5), *Pi[ya]dasī* (I, 2), *s[i]lasi* (IV, 12), *[chū]* (I, 4), *majūl[ā]* (I, 4), *laj[ā]k[ē]* (III, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: *akāla(le)na*, *anam[ta]l[i]yenā*, *[a]naniyam*, *apalamtā*,¹ *ayatiye*, *alam-bhiyisu*, *alabhi[yam]ti*, *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti*, *av[āha]si*, *ahā*² (= Skt. *āha*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: *adisha* (= *yādṛīsam*, XI, 29), *anathesu* (= *anāthesu* at Dhauli), *apavahe* (= Skt. *apavāhaḥ*), *ava* (= *yāvat*, IX, 25), *ava[ta]ke*, *kala* (VI, 17), *Devanampiyem* (X, 28), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya* (= *pālalokika* in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada), *paśada* (= Skt. *pāśaṇḍa*, XII, 31), *badham* (XII, 32), *madhuliyāye*, *lajā*, *lajāne*, *lajinā*, *vijina-mane*, *v[i]dh[a]na[m]*, *vimana-*, *viyapaṭā* (V, 15), *vividh[aye]*, *shav[i]bhage*.

(3) At the end: *a* (= Skt. *ā*, XIII, 6), *anathā* (= *anyathā*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *[e]sh[a]* (XIII, 37), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *māta-pitisu* (III, 8), *lāja* (IV, 11), *va* (twice = *vā*), *h[ā]da[lo]kika* (XIII, 18).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *api*) and *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*); *i* in *ti* (= *itī*), also in *kintī* (only XII, 33) and *kiti*; *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *vā*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *evā* are also employed.³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The Kālśī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel *r* by *l*, and the two nasals *ṇ* and *ṣ* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kaligya* (= Skt. *Kaliṅga*), and the former in *[n]iky[ā]y[ā]* (XII, 34), *Alīkyashudale* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ika* of *akāliky[e]*, *-thitikyā* and *-thitikyā*, *nātikya*, *panātikyā*, *pālamtikya*, *Pitinikyē[sh]u*, *-bh[u]mikyā*, *sh[a](shu)vām[i]kyena*, *sa[m]sayikyē*, *hidalokikya* and *pa[la]lokikya* (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms *h[ā]da[lo]kika* and *palalokiya* (XIII, 17 f.), which suggest that *-ika* became *-iya* through the intermediate stage *-ikyā*. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9, 347, n. 2) explains *nilathiya*, which corresponds at Kālśī (IX, 24) to *niratha* at Gīrnār.⁴ Another instance of the change of *k* to *y* after *i* would be *diyadha* (XIII, 35), which Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 230) derived from **dvikārdha*. To this may be added the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* in *mahālaka* and *supadālaya* (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv.⁵ The Kālśī

¹ Dhauli reads *āpalamtā*, and Gīrnār *[ā]parātā*. Cf. the adjective *Āparāntaka* in the *Kautiliya*, p. 81, l. 5.

² This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23, 244.

³ Instead of *no* at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read *yo*, as at Shāhbāzgarhī. For *yo* = Prakṛit *yeva* see below, p. lxxxv.

⁴ Cf. also *ata-patiya* in the pillar-edict IV, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindē pillar.

⁵ In Turkish the guttural ک (*kyaf*) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to *y*; thus from کوبه (*kyöpe*), 'a dog', is formed کوبکی (*kyöpeki*), 'his dog'.

dialect, like the Girnār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opa[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kaligya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālsī, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was **-opagya*. Greek *γ* is expressed by *k* in *Amteki[ne]* and *Makā*, and *χ* by *g* in *Am̐tiyoga*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *ch* has been aspirated in *kechha* (= Skt. *kēcha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= **kid + chid*). In *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palitiditu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapāda*, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist *parichchadi*; E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *duvādasa*; before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*, *kiṭanāt[ā]*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chiṭhiṭ[u]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prākṛit *chiṭṭhadi*¹ (= Skt. *tishṭhati*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *hida-sukhāye* (V, 15).² In *tatopa[yā]* (= *tadopayā* at Girnār and Dhauli) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*); cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 194. In *hida* (= *idha* at Girnār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*; but Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 57) may be right in connecting *hida* with Vēdic *idā*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, *huvēyu*, *husu*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 4); *v* in *visava* (= *vishaya*, XIII, 9) and *vas[e]vu* (= *vasēyuh*, VII, 21); *h* in *ye[ham]* (VI, 20).³ Initial *y* is lost in *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *yē*), *at[a]* (= *yatra*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]disa* (= *yādṛiśa*), *āva* (= *yāvat*), *ava[ta]ke* (XIII, 39). In *apavudha* (= *apōdha*) *v* was developed out of *ū*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palitiditu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[i]yātā* (= *apa-vyayatā* at Girnār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *t[e]dasa* (= **trayadaśa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pujēti*, *pujētav[i]ya*, &c.); in *vadhiyati* and *vadhiyisati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative *nivāṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) the *e* corresponds to an original *aye*.⁴ For *ava* we have *o* in *olodhana*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *hida* (= Skt. *iha*), *heḍisa* (= *īdṛiśa*), *heta* (= **itra*), *hevaṃ*, and perhaps the conjunction *hamche* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhb.*, I. 66) derives it from Pāli *yaṃche* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, *a*) through the intermediate form **amche*, while Senart (IA, 21. 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I-IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Girnār one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s*.⁵ From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ś* and *sh*. In a few cases, *sh* is used where Sanskrit would require it; see *eshe*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshamḍa*, *manu[shāna]m*, *tesham*, *yesham*, *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *Kaṃbojeshu*, *Kalī[m]geshu*, *nātikeshu*, *Nābhapam̐tishu*, *Pit̐nikye[sh]u*, *pitishu*, *Y[o]nesk[u]*, *ladhesha[shu]*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. *taśa* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tasya*), *dāśa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *saṃthuta* and *shaṃthuta* (= *saṃstuta*), *ś[a]va* and *shava* (= *sarva*), *śālā-* and *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śiyāti* and *shiyāti* (= *syāt*), *[ś]e* and *she*, *shaha[ś]a* and *shahasha* (= *sahasra*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.⁶ In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *ś* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Girnār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

¹ Cf. Singhalese *siṭinu* or *hiṭinu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 3 f.

² Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

³ For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁵ But *ś* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vaśa* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadaśinā*).

⁶ Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *punā* (= *punar*), *āva*, *ava*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avaṁ* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ās* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *putā*), but the *ā* is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt. *nap̐tārah*), *lājine* (gen. sing.), *lājāne* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]ye* (= *bhūyāḥ*), *ne* (= *naḥ*), *se* (= *saḥ*), *ye* or *e*, *aṁne*, *eke*, [*p*]ule (= Pāli *pure*, Skt. *purah*), [*m*]u[kha]ṭṭ[e], *viyaṁjanat[e]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Gīrnār, in *Sātiyaputo*, *Ke[lala]puto*, *jani[yo]*, *lā[j]āno*, *yaso* or *yasho*, *tato*; *ā* in *Makā*; *a* in *vadha* (XIII, 36), *hidālokiya* (XIII, 17), *esh[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]*- (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. *dhaṁmam*, *dānam*, and the two present participles *saṁtam* and *kalaṁtam* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. *san* and *kurvan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see *kala[n̐ta]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalaṁtam*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *anaṁtam*, *adishā* (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, XI, 29), *pāshaṁḍa*, *pāshaḍa*, and *pāsaḍa*, *bāḍha* (XIII, 36), *madava* (= *mārdavam*, XIII, 4), *viṇay[a]* and *viṇayataviya* (XIII, 16), [*sha*]va (= *sarvam*, X, 28), *heva* (= *ēvam*, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine *-anusa[th̐i]* (XIII, 12), *kiti*, *khaṁti*, *vadhi*, *Sambodhi*, *sudhi*, *hini*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened; see [*ā*]disā (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, IV, 10), *kaṁma*[*ma*]talā (= **karmataram*, VI, 20), *khudā* (= *kshudram*, IX, 24), *dosā* (I, 2), *nilathiyā* (IX, 24), *pāsaḍa* (XII, 32), *punā* (thrice = *punyam*), *bahuk[ā]* (I, 2), *maha-phalā* (= *mahā-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*; see *se*, *she*, *ese*, *eshe*, *ye*, *e*, *aṁne*, *save*, *shave*, *i[ta]le*, *dāne*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dāne* (XII, 31), *bāḍhatale* (XII, 33), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *se*, *she*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *ā* is generally shortened; e.g. *pānānam*, *tānam* (XIII, 38), *tesham* (XIII, 37), *nāti[nam]* (IV, 10), *bhā[tina]m* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural [*ba*]nibha-nānā (XI, 29), *nātinā* (IV, 9), *bh[agī]nī[nā]* (V, 16), *gulunā* (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular *pujā* (XII, 31), *-damḍatā* (XIII, 17), *dishā* (XIV, 23), [*ma*]hathāvā (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *mahathāvahā* (= Skt. *mahārthāvahām*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*, V, 15), *pāsaḍāna* (XII, 31), *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39), *i[d]āni* (= *idānim*, I, 3).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *ēva* in *tameva*, *i[ā]nam-ēv[ā]*, [*e*]vam-ēvā, *pālāntikyam-ēve(va)*. Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *aṁnam-anashā* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhaṭam-ayesu* (V, 15).

a + a are contracted into *ā* in *etāyāthāye* (XII, 34), [*kaṭābhikā*]le, *kuvāpi* (= Skt. *kvāpi*), *gabhā-gāla*, *-vasābhisita*, *dhaṁmānusa[th̐i]* (XIII, 12) or *dhaṁmānushathi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dhaṁmanusathi* (thrice), *dhamma[vāy]e* (XIII, 35), *li[p]ikalapalādhena* (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in *a[ta]tā* (twice = Skt. *yatra yatra*), *apalāmtā* (= *āparāntāḥ*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tēnātra*, VIII, 23), *diyaḍha* (= **dvikārdha*, XIII, 35), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *supāthāy[e]* (= *sūpārthāya*, I, 3).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lambhe* (IV, 9) and [*ma*]hathāvā (= Skt. *mahārtha + āvahām* (?), X, 27).

ā + a becomes *a* before an original group in [*ma*]hatha (= *mahā + artha*, X, 27).

ā + u becomes *o* in *pajopadāne(ye)*, on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

a is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *bāmbhan-ibhesu* (V, 15), *cheva*, *manus-opagāni* (II, 5),¹ and before *u* in *chu*, 'but',² which corresponds to *chō* (= *cha + u*) in Buddhist *gāthās*.³

i + a are contracted into *i* in *itthidhiyakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 34).

u is elided before *o* in *pas-opagāni* (II, 5).

a is dropped after *e* in *e-yaṁ* (V, 15), *tā[ye-th̐]ā[ye]* (VI, 19), *etā[y]e-thāye* (VI, 20).

¹ For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

² Michelson (IF, 23, 261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *cha*.

³ See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapundarika* (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tiyāyike]* (= *ātiyāyikam*),¹ *anap[a]yisanti* (III, 8), *anusathi* (= *anūsāsti*), *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *ayesu* (= *āryēshu*), *āladhe* (= **ārāddham*), *gadhā* (= **gāddhā*), *tadatvāye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamenā*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvyaṭē*), *ma[g]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *madava* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmata* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *ī* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *timni* (= *trīni*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vedaniya*, *anuvīdhiyama* (read *°yamti*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vedaniyya*, *anuvīdhiyyamti*; cf. above, p. lix. Short *a* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panātikya* (= **pranāptika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālantikya* (twice = *pāratika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.²

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atikamātam* (= *atīkrāntam*), *khamti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tāmbapāṇi* (= *Tāmraparnī*), *Paṇḍiyā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bāmbhana* (= *brāhmaṇa*), *[bha]m[da]* (= *bhāṇḍa*, III, 8), *sa[m]sayikye* (= *sāmsayikam*, IX, 26). In *b[ā]bhanā* (XIII, 37), *Devānāpiye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpunāta(tī)*, *palakamātu*,³ *lochetu* (XIII, 17), *[paṭi*]vedetu* (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see *Atiyoge* (XIII, 6), *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*), *anubadh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *alabhi[yaṁ]ti* (cf. the aorist *alambhijisu*, I, 3), *Alīkashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*), *Kaligya* (= *Kaliṅga*), *pāśada* and *pāśada* (= *pāśaṇḍa*),⁴ *magala* (= *maṅgala*), *vihisā* (= *vihiṁsā*), *shāmbadh[e]* (= *sāmbandhaḥ*), *shav[i]bhage* (= *sāmbibhāgah*), *sayama* and *samyama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[la]hati* (= Skt. *garhati*), *galahā*, *Alīkashudale* (= *Ἀλέξανδρος*); *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *duve*, *duvādaśa*, *fuluva* (= *pūrva*), *suāmika*, *pāpunāta(tī)*; and frequently *i*; see *lājinā* (= *rājñā*), *lājine* (= *rājñah*), the future passive participles in *-taviya*, *-adhiyakha* (= *adhyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *apatiye*, *alabhi[yaṁ]ti*, *[e]katiyā*, *Paṇḍiyā*, *paṭivesiya*, *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *viyaṁjana*, *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*), *shineke* (= *snēhah*), *siyā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *ithi* (= *strī*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *ś* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes *t* in *Nābhapaṇti*, &c

kv becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *-adhiyakha*, *khamti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *khuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhati*,⁵ *[lu]kha* (= *vṛiksha*), *mokha*, *su(sam)khita* (= *samkshipta*); *chh* in *chhanati*.

khy becomes *kh* in *shamkheye* (read *samkhāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanāl[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), *nāti*, *ānapayite*, but *jñ* in *lājinā* (= *rājñā*) and *lājine* (= *rājñah*).

¹ *atiyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form **atyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *ty*.

² Cf. *vanika* = Skt. *vakra*, *sumka* = Skt. *sulka*, &c., in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

³ For these two forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ The form *pāśada* may be derived from Skt. *pārshada*; see above, p. lx.

⁵ Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from **dyikshati*, which is preserved in *idriksha*, *tādrishka*, &c.

- dy* becomes *diy* in *Paṁḍiyā*.
ny becomes *nn* or *n* in *kilaṁna*, *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*), but *niy* in *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛinya*).
tp becomes *p* in *pajopadāne* (yr).¹
tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).
ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, *a[tiyāyike]*, *[e]katiyā*; *ky* in *nikyam*.
tv remains in *tadatvāye* (X, 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-tva*; but *tv* is assimilated in *chatāli* (= Skt. *chatvāri*, XIII, 7).
ts becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *chikisā*, *chikisakā*, *[u]shaṭe[na]* and *ushuṭena*.
tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*; cf. *uṣṭāna* at Gīrnār.
dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyā*; *y* in *[u]y[ānasi]*, *uyāma*.
dv becomes *d* in *diyadhā*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*.
dhy becomes *jh* in *n[i]jhāti*, *majhimenā*, but *dhiy* in *-adhiyakha*.
dhr remains in *dhruve* (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in *[Adha]* (= *Andhra*, XIII, 10).
ny becomes *nn* or *n* in *aṁna* and *ana*, *maṁnat[i]* and *manati*.
pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[i]jhāti*, *asamati*, *su(saṁ)khitenā*, *natāle* (= Skt. *napṭārah*), *paṇāṭikyā*, *Tulamaye* (= *Πτολεμαῖος*).
pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāta(ti)*.
bdk becomes *dh* in *ladha*.
bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, but *bhiy* in *alabhi[yam]ti*, *alambhīyisu*, *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti*.
my remains in *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*).
mr becomes *m̐b* in *Tambapaṁni*.
rg becomes *g* in *m[a]ge[s]u*, *vagenā*, *svagām*.
rṇ becomes *nn* in *Tambapaṁni*.
rt becomes *t* in *kiti*, *anuvataṁti*, *[a]nuvat[a]tu*, *nivateti*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *anuvāṭisa[m]ti*, *ni[va*]ṭeti*, *nivaṭey[ā]*.
rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*; *th* in *atha* and *nilathiyā*; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.
rd becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*).
rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhiyati*; *ḍh* in *vaḍhite*, *vaḍhiyati*, *[pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṁs[i]*, *diyadhā*.
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgālas[i]*.
rm becomes *mm* or *m* in *kaṁma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhamma* and *dhama*.
ry becomes *y* in *ayesu* (= Skt. *āryeṣhu*), but *liy* in *anam[ta]l[i]ya* (= *ānantarya*), *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*).
rv becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivateti*, *niv[u]ṭiyā*, but *luv* in *puluva*.
rs becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadashi* and *Piyadaṣi*).
rsh becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt *[va]sha* and *vaṣa*).
rh becomes *lah* in *ga[la]hati*, *galahā*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kaṇam*.
ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.
vy remains in *divyāni* (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyaṭe*, IX, 27), and it becomes *vīy* in *vīyamjana*, *vīyashanam*, *vīyāpaṭā*, *mīgaviyā*, and in the affix *-taviya*.
vr becomes *v* in *tive*, *pav[a]ṭitā[n]i*, *vācha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*.
sch becomes *chh* in *[pa]chhā*.
śy becomes *siy* in *paṭivesiyenā*.
shk becomes *k* in *dukata*, *dukala*.
shkr becomes *kh* in *nikham[am]tu*, *nikhamisu*, *nikhamithā*, *vinikhamane*.
shṭ becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha* (XIII, 35); *th* in *nikhamithā*.
shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *sethe*, *chithi[u]*; *th* in *adhithā[nāye]*.
shy becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anap[a]yisaṁti* and other futures.
sk becomes *k* in *agi-kamdh[ā]ni*, while Gīrnār has *agi-kh[a]mḍhāni* (with *kh*).
st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *[ha]thini*, *saṁthuta*, *vithaṭenā*, *anusathi*.

¹ Dhaulī and Jaugada read °dāye, Mānsehrā °daye, but Shāhbāzgarhī *pajupadane*, which might correspond to Skt. *prajōtpādane*. At Kalsi the locative of *utpādana* is excluded, because it would end in *-asi*. For *upadā* = Skt. **utpad* see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.

str becomes *th* in *ithi* (= Skt. *strī*).

sth becomes *th* in *gahathāni*, *gih[i]thā*, *chi[la]-thitikyā* (V, 17), but *th* in *chila-thitikyā* (VI, 20).

sn becomes *skin* in *shinehe*.

sm becomes *s* in the locatives in *-asi*, but *ph* in *[ta]phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

sy becomes *siy* (*siy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[su]* (3. plur. optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svagam* (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,¹ and it becomes *svv* in *svāmika* (IX, 25).

hm becomes *m̐bh* in *bar̐bhana*. The form *bar̐mhmana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between **bahmana* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) and **bamhana* (*bamhaṇa* at Gīṛnār, IX, 5).

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhammam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutāni</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>luṇāni</i> .
Instr. <i>dānena</i> or <i>dānenā</i> , &c.	[<i>sa</i>]tehi.
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmat[e]hi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubadh[ā]</i> , [<i>pa</i>]chhā.	
Gen. <i>jana[sa]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>janasā</i> , &c.	<i>pānānam</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>dhammasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sātiyaputo* and *Ke[lala]puto*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidālokikya*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*Makā*, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is *-am* (*anāntam*, IX, 26, 27, *-anusāsanam* and *kaṇim[am]*, IV, 12). It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in [*ā*]disā (IV, 10), *kaṇ[ma]talā* (VI, 20), *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍa* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāshaḍa* and *-pāshamḍa* (XII, 33), [*shayama*] (XIII, 4), *viṇay[a]* and *viṇayataviya* (XIII, 16). The termination *-am* is replaced by *-ā* in *ata-pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *bahuk[ā]* and *dosā* (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4); *-ā* in *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX, 24); *-e* in *dāne* (XII, 31) and *bādhatale* (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *-[nā]tikya* (XIII, 38), *pāśamḍa* (XIII, 37), *-pāshamḍa* (XII, 34), *-[pāsa]mḍa* (VII, 21), *-puluva* (V, 14), *puṇetav[i]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In *hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vṛiksha* is used as neuter: [*lu*]khāni (II, 6).²

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in *-āni* are *-kaṇdh[ā]ni* (IV, 10), *Kaligyāni* (XIII, 36), *-pāsham[ḍān]i*, *pav[a]jitā[n]i*, *gahathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *vimana-dasan[ā]* (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]nushān[a]* (XIII, 39). The termination is *-ā* in *-[ba]m̐bhanānā* (XI, 29).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Singular.

Nom. *ichhā*, &c.

Acc. *pujā*, &c.

Instr. *puj[ā]ye*.

Gen. or loc. *saṁti[ā]nāye*.

Nom. sing.—In *hi[da]lokika* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened.

¹ See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

² Cf. *ruchhāni* at Mānsehrā, II, 8

Acc. sing.—In [-yātām] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination -ām seems to be preserved, and the ā to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In *vividh[aye]* (XII, 31) the penultimate ā seems to be shortened.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. neut. *asamati*.

Nom. plur. neut. *osadhīn[i]*,¹ *tini*, *timni*.

Gen. plur. *nāti[nām]*, *nātinā*.

Loc. plur. *Nābhapaṁtishu*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipi</i> , &c.	<i>jani[yo]</i> . ²
Acc. <i>Sam̐bodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>bhatiyā</i> , -anusathiyē.	
Dat. -anusathiyā, vaḍhiyā.	
Abl. <i>ni[v]utiyā</i> , <i>Tambapaṁniyā</i> .	
Gen.	<i>bh[agi]ni[nā]</i> .
Loc. <i>ayatiye</i> .	

III. BASES IN -u.

The nom. sing. *sādhu* or *shādhu* is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*.

Instr. plur. *ba[h]u[hi]*.

Gen. plur. *gulinā*.

IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. plur. *natāle* (= Skt. *nap̐tārak̐*).

Gen. plur. *bhā[tina]m* (= Skt. *bhr̐tr̐ṇām*).

Loc. plur. *pītisu* or *pītishu* (= Skt. *pitr̐shu*).

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension : *pitinā*, *bhātinā*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination -ām, which is evidently derived from Skt. -an, to the strong form of the base : *saṁtam* from root *as*, *kalam̐tam* (*kala[m̐ta*], *kalata*) from root *kṛi*.

(2) Bases in -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

Instr. sing. *hetuvatā*.³

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli *guṇavā* = Skt. *guṇavān*.

¹ The Kālśī dialect has mixed up *osadhi* (= Skt. *ōshadhi*, fem.) with *osadha* (= Skt. *auśhadha*, neut.).

² From Vēdic *jani*, 'a wife'.

³ In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hetuvāt*, but *h̐tumat*; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lajā, lāja.</i>	<i>lā[j]āno, lajāne.</i>
Acc. neut. <i>nāma, nāmā.</i>	
Instr. <i>lājīnā, lajīnā.</i>	
Gen. <i>lājine.</i>	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *k[am]me* or *kam[mam]*, dat. *kam[māye]*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Pi[ya]dasi</i> (I, 2), <i>Piyadasi, Piyadashi.</i>
Instr. sing. <i>Piyadasinā, Piyadašinā.</i>
Gen. sing. <i>Piyadasine, Piyadashine, Piyadasisā.</i>
Acc. plur. <i>[ha]thini</i> (= <i>hathini</i> at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. *Piyadasisā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. *[ha]thini* (i. e. *hathini*), cf. *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. *yaso* or *yasho, bh[u]ye.*

The base *va[cha]*- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base *dis* (or *disā*) forms the acc. sing. *dishā* (for *disām*). The two feminine bases **utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pajopadāne(ye)* (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palis[ā]ye*; nom. plur. *palisā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakam.</i>	
Instr. <i>mamāyā, me</i> (III, 7).	
Gen. <i>[mama], mamā, me.</i>	<i>ne</i> (V, 16).

The nom. sing. *hakam* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaam* in Māhārāshṭrī); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417.

The instr. sing. *mamāyā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. Cf. *mamas*, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se, [s]e, she</i> ; neut. <i>ta, se, [sh]e.</i>	Masc. <i>te.</i>
Acc. masc. <i>taim</i> ; neut. <i>se, she.</i>	
Instr. <i>tena, tenā.</i>	<i>tehi.</i>
Dat. <i>tā[ye].</i>	<i>te[hī].</i>
Abl. <i>[ta]phā, t[ā].</i>	
Gen. <i>taśa, tasha, tasā, tashā.</i>	<i>tesham, tānam.</i>
Loc. <i>taśi.</i>	

Nom sing. fem. *sā, shā.*

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. *[ta]phā* goes back to *tamhā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*); cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada. The abl. *t[ā]* is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [e]se (VIII, 23), ¹ [e]she (X, 28), ² <i>esh[a]</i> (XIII, 38); neut. <i>ese</i> , <i>eshe</i> .	Neut. <i>e[ī]āni</i> .
Instr. <i>etakenā</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāya</i> (XII, 34), <i>etāye</i> , <i>dha(e)ta[k]āye</i> .	
Gen. <i>etishā</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. *etishā* cf. *etisa* at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ayam</i> , <i>iyam</i> ; neut. <i>iyam</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>imam</i> .	
Gen. <i>imas[ā]</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyam</i> .	
Dat. sing. fem. <i>imāya</i> .	

The nom. masc. *ayam* is taken from V, 15, where *eyam* perhaps stands for *e + ayam* (= Skt. *yō-yam*). The form *iyam* is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kā]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *chha* = Skt. *cha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechha*) or *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*). As at Girnār, the compounds *kimti* (XII, 33) and *kiti* are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> ; neut. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> , <i>a</i> , <i>am</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>yam</i> , <i>am</i> , <i>e</i> (XIII, 38).	
Instr. <i>yena</i> .	
Gen. <i>asā</i> .	<i>yesham</i> .
Loc.	<i>yesu</i> .

(7) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>amne</i> .	Masc. <i>amne</i> , <i>ane</i> ;
Acc.	neut. <i>amnāni</i> .
Dat. <i>amnāye</i> .	
Gen. <i>amnāmanashā</i> .	

(8) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. <i>save</i> , <i>shave</i> , [sha]va.	Masc. [sa]ve.
Acc. masc. <i>savam</i> ; neut. <i>savam</i> , <i>shava[m]</i> .	<i>s[a]ves[u]</i> , <i>shaveshu</i> .
Loc.	

Nom. sing. fem. *shavā*.

(9)

Nom. sing. neut. *i[ta]le*, while classical Sanskrit has *itarat*.

¹ Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

² Cf. id., n. 1.

INTRODUCTION

(10) Base *ubhaya*.Gen. plur. *ubhaye[sa]ni*.(11) Base *ēkatara*.Loc. sing. *ekatalash[i]*.(12) Base **ēkatya*.Nom. plur. masc. [*e*]katiyā.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *duve*.

This form may be used for all genders in all Prākṛits ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *tini*, *tinini*.

Cf. Prākṛit *tinṇi* ; Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chatāli* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛit ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchasu*, *shashu* (= Prākṛit *chhasu*).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

aṭha, *das[a]*, *duvāḍasa* (with lingual *ḍ*),¹ *t[e]dasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni* ; instr. [*sa*]tehi ; loc. *shateshu*.

The ordinal is *shata* (= Skt. *śatātama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *śaḥ[a]śa* (= Skt. *śahasrātama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śaḥ[a]-śaḥa[ś]e*.Nom. plur. [*sa**]śa-śahasāni.

¹ The *ḍ* has been further changed to *r* in Prākṛit *bārasa* and *bāraka*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases.*

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nikham[am]tu*.

Root *garh*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *ji*: the participle *viṇamane* and the absolutive *viṇ[ī]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jiṇādi*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jiṇadi*).¹

Root *ḍṛiś*: *dakhati*.²

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huveyu* (sixth class).

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[ē]vu*.

Root *vṛit*: *anuvataṃti*.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *chithi[ū]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chithiadi*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation: *adamāna*.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i* or *yā*: *yaṃti*.

Root *yā*: *ye[ham]*; see below, p. lxxxii.

Root *han*: *up[a]ham[ī]ti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *pajohitaviye* (I, 1) is derived from the present **johati*, in which the *ū* of **jūhati* (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*.

Root *man*: *maṃnat[ī]* and *manati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *pāpunāta[ī]*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śhune[y]u*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*. The 3. sing. *kaleti* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. *ka[la]ṃti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 509.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhanati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dasayitu*, *[d]ipayema*, *ālādhayi(yam)tu*, *a-lochayitu*, *alochayisu*, *[pa]v[a]dha-yisam[ī]*. The character *aya* is changed to *iya* in *vaḍhiyati* (XII, 32) and *vaḍhiyisati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pūjeti*, *pūjetav[ī]ya*, *lochetu*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]ṭeti*, *[paṭi*]vedetu*.

¹ See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 473.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

- (b) With *āya*: *sukkhāyāmi* (VI, 20).
 (c) With *paya*: *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*, *[ānapayā]mi*, *anap[a]yisaṃti*, *ānapayite*, *lopita*.
 (d) With *āpaya*: *lekhāpesāmi*, *likhāpita* (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*.
 (e) With *pāpaya*: *lopāpita*.

(2) *Moods.*

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikhamithā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijinamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāni*, *[ānapayā]mi*.
 3. sing. *[pa*]lakamati*, *ga[la]hati*, *dakhati*, *hoti*, *athi*, *up[a]hami[i]*, *mamnat[i]* and *manati*, *ichhati*, *kaleti*, *chhanati*, *pujati*, *nivateti* and *ni[va*]teti*, *vaḍhiyati*.
 3. plur. *anuvataṃti*, *vashati* (= Skt. *vasanti*), *yaṃti*, *ichhamti*, *ka[la]ṃti*. In *pāpunāta(ti)* the termination *-ti* (for *-nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*); cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukkhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).
 3. sing. *susushātu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).
 3. plur. *palakamātu* (with *-tu* for *-ntu*).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ye[ham]* (for **yeyam*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. *[pa]ti[pāday]eham* (or *paṭipātayeham*) and *ālabbheham* in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. I of his edition of this work, p. 403): *tishṭheham*, *abhisambudhyeham*, *gachchheham*.
 3. sing. *nivāṭey[ā]*, *paṭipajeyā*, *siyā*, *ṣiyā*, *ṣiyāti*, *shiyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt. *syāt*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivāṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *niḍbatteyyam* (for *niḍbattayeyyam*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāve* = Skt. *dapayēh* and *paḍigāhe* = Skt. *prati-grāhayēh* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460.

1. plur. *[a]ipayema*.

3. plur. *a[su]* (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huveyu*,¹ *shune[y]u*, *shushusheyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas[e]vu* (VII, 21).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, *[a]nuva[ta]tu*.
 3. plur. *nikham[am]tu*, *manatu*, *yujamtu*, *ālādhayi(yam)tu*, *lochetu* (= Skt. *rōchayantu*), *[paṭi*]-vedetu*, *anuv[dh]iya[n]tu* (passive).

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikhamithā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is *-ittha* and *-itthā*; see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.
 3. plur. active *nikhamisu*, *husu* (= *ahimsu* at Gīrṇār). The two forms *manishu* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisu*² are used as subjunctives.

¹ Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huveyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Paisāchī dialect.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āhā, ahā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āha*.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi*,¹ *lekhāpeśāmi*.
 3. sing. *kachhati*, *vadhiyisati*, *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*.
 3. plur. *kachham[i]ti*, *anuvāṭisa[m]ti*, *anusāsisaṃti*, *anap[a]yisaṃti*, *[pa]v[a]dhayisaṃti[i]*, and the two passives *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*) and *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti*.

V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyaṭē*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pavasati*, IX, 26, and *paṣavati*, XI, 30); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative *anuvidhiyāma* (read °*yamti*, = Skt. *anuvidhiyantē*), *alabhi[yam]ti*.
 3. plur. imperative *anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu*.
 3. plur. aorist *alambhiyisu*.²
 3. plur. future *[a]nuvidhiyisāma* (read °*saṃti*), *alābhi[y]isa[m]ti* (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive *susushātu*.
 3. plur. optative *shushusheyu*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *saṃtām*.

Root *kṛi*: *kalaṃtām* (*kala[m]ta*), *kalata*.

Middle.

Root *ji*: *vijinamana*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Root *ad*: *adamāna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *maṭa* (= *mṛita*), *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *viṭhaṭa* (= *vistrita*), *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *niṣita* (= **niṣṛita*), *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānapayita*,³ *huta* (= *bhūta*), *atikamta* (= *atīkrānta*), *su(sam)khita* (= *samkṣhīpta*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudha* (= *apōdha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *ālādha* (= **ārāddha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *p[a]sh[am]na*, *vipakhina* (i. e. °*kīna*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya* (see above, p. lxxxii), *vijayataviya* (for Skt. *vijētavya* under the influence of the substantive *vijaya*), *pūjetav[i]ya*, *paṭi[vedeta*]viya*.

(b) In *-āniya*: *vedāniya*.

¹ Johansson (*Shākh.*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from **kajjati* (= **karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjāi*.

² The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alambhi* or of the substantive *ālambha* (III, 8, &c.).

³ This barbarous equivalent of Skt. *ājñāpta* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ālabhitu*, *palitiditu* (from root *tyaj* with Saṃprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chiṭhit[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chiṭṭhadi*), *vijin[i]tu* (from the present **vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxii), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) In *-ya*: *śamkheye* (read *samkhāya*) from *sam-khyā*.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakam* (= Skt. *aham*), *etaka*, *ava[ta]ka* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātikya* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātikya* (= *pranāptṛi*), *suṇāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *svayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahālaka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supadālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kam[ma]talā* (i. e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajataṃe*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhī version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Aśoka*. (Tiré des Actes du 8^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mut[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavucha*. In *meṇati* (= *manyatī*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *ē* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ñ*.¹

If the reading *etrā* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *iyam*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnār) and *heta* (Kālsī) = **itra*; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *ediśa* (= *īdṛiśa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punaḥ*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūṇām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ṛi* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *ir*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usaṭena*, *dukaṭam*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *vaḍhi* (= Skt. *vṛiddhi*), *vaṭa* and *viyaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *ananiyam*, *[da]khati*; (2) *kiṭa*, *s[u]kiṭa[m]*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *pranatika*; (3) bases in *-ri*: *pitushu*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*),

¹ With *meṇati* Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-mainjan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).

and for *ṛi* after a labial: *agrabhuṭi*, *viyapuṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *muṭa*, *vutaṃ* and *vuṭaṃ* (= *vṛitaṃ*), *nivuṭa* (= *nirvṛitta*), *nivuṭi* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *grahatha* (= *grihastha*); (5) [*kr*][*i*][*ṭa*] (II, 4), *driḍha*, *visṭriṣṇa*; (6) *kiṭra* (i.e. *kirṭa*, = Skt. *krīta*);¹ (7) for *ṛi* after a labial: *pa[ri]p[ru]chha*, *mrugo*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛigayā*). In *śruṇeyu* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *śruta*, *śrutu*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johansson, § 23), appears to have become *i*; see *duv[i]* = *du[v]e* at Mānsehrā for Skt. *dvē* (II, 4) and *dvan* (I, 3), *ayi* for **aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *amīi* (VIII, 17) for *amīe* = Skt. *anyah*, *Amīikini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *rajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively; see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichaiḥ*, VII, 5), [*o*]*sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *papotra* (XIII, 11), *paralokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharōshthī alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) and *kiti* (= **kid + iti*); *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *vo* (= Vēdic *ēvō*, i.e. *ēva + u*)² and *yo*, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *ēva*).³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *nirathiya* (= *nilathiya* at Kālsī) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diadha* = **dvikārdha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amīiyoka*, and *γ* by the same in *Amīikini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kamboya*, [*p*]*rayuhotave*, *samaya* (= Skt. *samāja*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rājā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vračaspi*, *vrača-bhumika* (also at Mānsehrā), and in *vračamti*, *v[r]acheyam*; cf. Prākṛit *vachchai* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati*.

Skt. *ṇ* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahino*, *pranatika*, *Pitinika* (= *P[e]tenika* at Gīrnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ṛi*, *r*, or *sh*; see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anamāriyena*, *khudrakena*, *Devanamapriyena*, *parakramena*, *putrena*, *vagrena*, *abhiramani*, *rupani*, *sahasani*, *Gaṃdharanam*, *manuṣanam*, *mahamatranam*, *Rathikanam*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *pituna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*. On the other hand lingual *ṇ* is newly developed after *r* in *prapuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *saṃtirāṇa* (from *tirayati*), and wrongly in *Devanamapriy[e]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ṛi* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (eight times) or *praṭi* (twice) for *prati* (five times), and after *sha* in [*o*]*sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *prashamda* and *prashaḍa* (for **pārshamda* and **pārshada* = Skt. *pārshada*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *hapesadi* (= *hapesati* at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kālsī, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12).⁴ Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śaurasēnī dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *idha* at Gīrnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *avatrapeyu* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *padham* (VII, 5) for *badham* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *h* in *hoti* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhoti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *-bhiḥ*) of *bahuki* and *śatehi*.

As at Kālsī, *y* becomes *j* in *majura* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 3), and *v* in *vishava* (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of *ava* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yāvat* and of [*e*] (XIII, 5) for *ye* = Skt. *yat*, and between two vowels in *Priadrasi* (thrice), *Devanamapriasa* (four times) or

¹ The spelling *kiṭra* suggests that (5) [*kr*][*i*][*ṭa*] is also meant for *kirṭa*. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31. 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

² See Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.

³ Michelson (JAOS, 30. 86, n. 4) identifies *yo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative pronoun.

⁴ At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*); and *tenada* (= *tēnātra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form **tenadra*. Cf. *adra*, *puḍra*, *midra* in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, II. 208, n. 3.

*piasa (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetav[i]a* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *palitiditu* at Kālsī). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *anapayami*, *draṣayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *anapemi*, *anapeṣanti*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *anuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivāṭeyati* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) to an original *ayo*.¹

The change of *r* into *l* in *palig[o]dha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* and *a-locheti*² is a Māgadhiśm, while, as at Gīrnār, *r* corresponds to *l* in **arabhati*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamayē* = Πτολεμαῖος (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamayē* (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhī version is based on a Māgadha original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *ḍ* corresponds to the lingual *ḷ* of Tamil *Kēraḷa*; the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *ḷ*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ū* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *vuta* (= *uṭṭa*, II, 5), and *apavudha* (= *apōḍha*). As at Kālsī, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *hoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgarhī one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kālsī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.³ Thus we find *ś* in *anusasti*, *asamana*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *daśa*, *deśa*, *draśana*, *draṣayitu*, *Priyadrasi*, *paśu*, *pradeśi[ka]*, *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śīla*), *[śilana]* (i. e. *śīlana*), *śudhi* (i. e. *suddhi*), *saśayike*, *prativeśiya*, *niśita* (= Skt. **niśrita*), *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, *śruṇeyu*; and *sh* in *eshe*, *esha*, *[o]sha[dha]ni*, *ghosha*, *tosho*, *dosha*, *parisha*, *prashamḍa*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[m]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *nikramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= **karshyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusochana*, *[s]reṭha* (= *śrēṣṭha*); *s* for *sh* in *abhisita* (= *abhishikta*), *yesu*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *[arabhi]yis[u]*; *sh* for *s* in *pañchashu* and *shashu*. In *manuśa* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śś*, in which the original *sh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *suśrusha*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrusheyu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an[u]śaśana*, *anuśaśisanti* the second *ś* (for *s*) is due to assimilation.⁴

Cases of Cockneyism are *hamche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt. *āha*, *hida* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidalokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt. *hastinaḥ*, and between two vowels in *maa* = Prakṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt. *iha*) and *ialoka*.

As at Gīrnār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*; see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*, IV, 8), *vacha-* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadha dialect, *e*; see *bhuy[e]*, *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eshe*, *y[e]* (V, 13), *añe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *amñi* (VIII, 17), *Amṭikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anusvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idam* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imam* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayam* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idānīm*),⁵ *eva* (twice) = *evam* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *aṭh[r]a*, *dosha*, *ba[hu]ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *puja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *abhiratana*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadha dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-e* instead of *-am*; see *eshe* (X, section E), *ye* (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5; XIV, 13), *[saha]sre*

¹ Mānśhrā has *treḍaśa*, Dhāuli and Kālsī *tedaśa*, for **trayadaśa*.

² But not in *rochetu*; see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

³ I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30, 289.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *śaśa* instead of **śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

⁵ Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29.

(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.¹ The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kaṭavo* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *iyo* (XII, 2) for *iyam* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudivasam* at Girnār we find *anudivaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayam* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*]vam-eva and paratri[ka]m-eva, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *añam-añasa* and *bhaṭam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet, the result of *a + a* always appears in writing as short *a*; see *kiṭabhikaro*, *grabhagara*, *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*), *nasti*, *praṇarambho*, *mahāṭhavaha*, *-vashabhisita*, *supāṭhay[e]*, *dhramanuṣṭi*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*aṭha*]vasha-a[*bhis*]ita[*sa*] (XIII, 1).

a is elided before *i* in *bramaṇ-ibheshu*; before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*) and *paj-upadane*; before *e* in *ch-eva*; before *o* in *manuṣ-opakani* and *tat-opayam* (see above, p. lxxii); and *u* before *o* in *paś-opakani*.

i + a are contracted into *i* in *ī[stṛidhi]yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Girnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':²

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*

(a) in *rbh*: *grabhagara* (= *garbhāgāra*).

(b) in *rm*: *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv*: *pruva* (= Skt. *pūrva*).

(d) in *rś*: *draśana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draśayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadrati*.

(e) in *rsh*: *prashamda* and *prashada* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg*: *vogra* (i. e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rṣ*: *kiṭra* (i. e. *kiṛṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*), *kiṭri* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

(c) in *rth* and *rṭh*: *athra* and *aṭhra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv*: *savra* (i. e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i. e. *sarvatra*).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see *atara* and *am̐tara*, *atikrata* (= Skt. *atīkrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Am̐tiyoka*, *anata* and *anam̐ta*, *Alikasudaro* (= Ἀλέξανδρος), *karatam̐* and *karam̐tam̐*, *Kaliga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanam̐priya*, *prashada* and *prasham̐da*,³ *badhana* and *sam̐ba[m̐]dha*, *magala* and *man̐gala*, *vihisa* (= Skt. *vihiṁsā*), *sataṁ* and *sa[m̐]tam̐*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa[m̐]yama*, *s[a]yuta* (= *saṁyukta*), *saśayika* (= *sāṁśayika*),

¹ Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

² Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30. 289, n. 2.

³ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

sastuta and *saṁstuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapūṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *nik[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *paṭivedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garahati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapūṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhī will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgarhī dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky becomes *k* in *śako* (= Skt. *śakya*).

kr remains in *atikratam*, &c.

ksh remains¹ in *akshati*, [*adhi*] *yaksha*, [*ksham*] *ti*, *kshaṇati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitaviya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshitenā*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and [*da*] *khati*.²

kshy becomes *ksh* in *vraکشامتي*.

khy becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhy[a]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr remains in *agra*, [*a*] *pag[r]atho* (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).

chy becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*).

jñ becomes *ñ* in *kiṭrañāta* (= Skt. *kyitajñātā*), *ñati*, *ñatika*, *ñanam*, *raña*, *raño*; *ṇ*, as in literary Prakṛit, in *anapayami* and *anapemi*, *anapeśamti*, *anapita*.

jy becomes *j* in *joti*- (= Skt. *jyōtis*, IV, 8).

ñj becomes *mñ* in *vamñanato* (= Skt. *vyañjanataḥ*).

ḍy becomes *ḍ*, as at Gīrnār, in *Paṁḍa* (XIII, 9), but *ḍiy*, as at Kālsī, in *Paṁḍiya* (II, 4).

ṇy becomes *ṇ* in *puña*, *hiraña*, but *ṇiy* in *ananiya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*).

tp becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.³

tm becomes *t* in *ata*- (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *ti* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

tr remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).⁴

tv remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*).

ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena*, *chikisa*.

tsth becomes *th* in *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uṭhanam* (ibid.).⁵

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyati*; *y* in *uyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).

dr remains in *khudrakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *b* in *badaya(śa)* (cf. *dbādasa* at Gīrnār), and *d* in *diadhā*.

As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nijha[t]i* and *anunija(jha)peti* (= [*a*] *nu[nijha]paya[t]i* at Mānsehrā), but *dhiy* in [*adhi*] *yaksha*.

dhr remains in *dhruva* and *Aṁdhra*.

nm becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

ny becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *añña* and *aña*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañishu*, *hamñamti[i]*, [*ka*] *mñeyasu*.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[t]i*, *vuta* (= Skt. *uṭta*, II, 5), *asamataṁ*, *saṁkshitenā*, *nataro* (= *naptārah*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= *Πτολεμαῖος*).

pn becomes *pun* in *prapūṇati*.

pr remains in *Priyadraśi*, *Devanānpriya*, *priti* (i. e. *prīti*), *prakara[n]e* (XII, 3), *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *prāṇa*), *pradeśi[ka]*, *pranatika*, *prapūṇati*, *prabhava*, [*p*] *rayuhotave*, *pra[va]dh[e]śamti*, *pravase*, *pravrajita*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *aviṣrahino*, *pratipa[t]i* (XIII, 5), *pratibhagaṁ*, *pratibh[o]gaye*, *prativeśiyena*, *p[r]atīvidhane* (VIII, 17), *prāṭivedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanāpiasa* (I, 2), [*a*] *pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papotra*, *paṭipajeyati*,

¹ For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

³ See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

⁴ Mānsehrā has *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

⁵ Mānsehrā has *uṭhana* in both cases.

paṭipati (twice), *samṭipati* (twice), *paṭividhana* (V, 13), *paṭivedaka*, *paṭivedana*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedavo* (VI, 15).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

br remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

ḍhy becomes *bh* in *-ibheshu*, *arabhiṣanti* (future passive), but *bhiy* in *[arabhi]yis[u]* (aorist passive).

bhr remains in *bhratuna*.

my becomes *mm* (also spelt *mmm*) in *samma-* and *saṁmma-*.

mr becomes *m̐b* in *Tambapaṇṇi*.

rg remains in *vagra* (i. e. *varga*; see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (i. e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*).

ṛṇ becomes *m̐ṇ* in *Tambapaṇṇi*.

rt becomes *t* in *anuvataṭu*, but *r̥t* in *kiṭri* (i. e. *kirtī* = Skt. *kīrtī*), and *t̥* in *kaṭava*, *anuvataṇṭi*, *an[uv]aṭiṣanti*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*.

rth remains in *athra* (i. e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *r̥th* in *aṭhra* (i. e. *ar̥tha*, VI, 14; IX, 19), and *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim), *niraṭhiyaṇ*.

rdh becomes *q̄h* in *vaḍhiṣati*, *vaḍheti*, *pra[va]q̄h[e]ṣanti*, *vaḍhita*, *diadha*.

rbh remains in *grabhagara* (i. e. *garbhāgāra*).

rm remains in *krama* (i. e. *karma*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharmma*).¹

ry becomes *y* in *-ayeshu* (= Skt. *āryēshu*), but *riy* in *anantariyena*, *madhuriyaye*, *sama[cha]-riyaṇ*.

rv remains in *pruva* (i. e. *purva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *savra* (i. e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*, *nivuta*, *nivuti*.

rś remains in *draṣana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draṣayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraṣi* (= °*darśin*), but becomes *ś* in *daṣana* (VIII, 17).

rsh remains in *prasham̐da* (i. e. **pārsham̐da*)² and *prashaḍa*, but becomes *sh* in *vasha*, *pasham̐da* (XII, 3) and *pashaḍa* (XII, 9).

rshy becomes *sh* in *kasham̐*, *kashati*, *kasham̐ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*: *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhaṇā*).³

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vam̐nana*, *vapaṭa* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *prasavati*, *kaṭava*, *paṭivedetavo*, *[p]rayukhotave*, *vatavo*, but *vi* in *vijetav[i]a*, and *viy* in *viyapaṭa* and *viyapuṭa* (V, 13), *ksham̐taviya*, *pujetaviya*.

vr remains in *[ti]vre*, *pravrajita*, *vracham̐ti*, *v[r]acheyam̐*, *vraksham̐ti*, *vrachaspi* and *vrachabhūmika* (also at Mānsehrā).

sch becomes *ch* in *kachi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*).

śy becomes *siy* in *prativeṣiyena*.

śr remains in *śramana*, *śravaka*, *suśrusa*, *suśrusatu*, *suśrusheyu*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, but becomes *ś* in *śamaṇa* (IX, 19), *niśite*, and *sr* in *[s]reṭha* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭha*).

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭam̐*, *dukara*.

shkr becomes *kr* in *nikramaṇam̐*, *nik[r]amatu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*.

shṭ becomes *ṭh* in *[aṭha]* = Skt. *aṣṭa* (XIII, 1).

shtr becomes *ṭh* in *Raṭhikanam̐*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *tiṭhiti*, *[s]reṭham̐*; *ṭh* in *-adhithana*.

shy becomes *ś* (i. e. *śś*) in *manuśa* and in the futures in *-iṣati* and *-eṣati*.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *joti-kam̐dhani*.

st remains in *asti*, *nasti*, *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinā*), *saṁstava*, *saṁstuta*, *vistriṭena*, *-anusasti*. It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nipista*.⁴

¹ At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

² This form is a variant of Skt. *pārshada* (for *pārishada*) and the origin of Skt. *pasham̐da*; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

³ See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rassa* = Skt. *hrasva* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaha* (= Skt. *garhā*).

⁴ See above, p. xlii.

str remains in *i*[*stri*], *striyaka*.

sth becomes *th* in *grakatha*, *chira-thitika*.

sn becomes *sin* in [*si*][*ne**]*ho* (XIII, 5).¹

sm becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *rabhasiye*, *siya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.

sr remains in *parisrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).

sv becomes *sp* in *spa[ka]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*), *spamikena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*).

hm becomes *m* in *bramaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *jano*, &c.; neut. *danam*, &c.

Acc. masc. *dhramam*, &c.; neut. *maṅgalam*, &c.

Instr. *putrena*, *danena*, &c.

Dat. *aṭhaye*, &c.

Abl. *karaṇa* (= Skt. *kāraṇāt*, III, 6), *pacha*.

Gen. *janasa*, &c.

Loc. (a) *orodhanaspi*, &c.; (b) *dhrame*, &c.

Plural.

Masc. *putra*, &c.; neut. [*o*]*sha[dha]ni*, &c.

Masc. *yutani*, &c.; neut. *divani*, *rupani*.

ṣatehi.

praṇanam, &c.

vasheshu, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jana* (XIV, 13), *ghosha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[ka]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *samba[m]dha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination *-e* is frequent; see *jane* (X, 21), *vivade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *Āntikini* (XIII, 9) we have *-i* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusochana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *draśana* and *daśana* (VIII, 17), *puṇa* (XI, 24), *maṅgala* (IX, sections D and F), *maha-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *draśane* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *vijite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-am* or *-e*: *kaṭavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *prativedetavo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivedetavo* (VI, 15), *vatavo* (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), *śako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagaṇi* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *aṭh[r]a* (VI, section E), *dosha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: *dhramo* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in [*da*]*na* (XII, 1), *karaṇa* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in [*a*]*pakaranasi* (XII, 3), *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), [*ga*]*ṇanasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]i* (I, 2), *yu[ta]si* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *anutape*, *abadhe*, *avahe*, *Kalige*, *prakara[n]e*, *pravase*, *vijay[e]* (XIII, 11), *vijite*, *vivahe*, *ṣile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apatya* is used as masculine in [*y*]*e me apacha vṛakṣamti* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in [*o*]*sha[dha]ni* *harapita cha vuta cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kaṁdhani*, *Kaliga[ni]*, *-prashamḍani*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grakathani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mahamatrana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇana* (twice), *-braṇana* (IV, 9).

¹ Mānsehrā reads *si[ne]he*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichha</i> , &c.	<i>chik[i]sa</i> , [<i>kr</i>][<i>i</i>][<i>ta</i>], <i>striyaka</i> . ¹
Acc. <i>puja</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pujaye</i> , <i>vividhaye</i> .	
Loc. <i>sa[m̐]tiraṇaye</i> .	

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.
Gen. plur. *ñatina[m̐]*, *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>dipi</i> , &c.	<i>aṭavi</i> .
Acc. <i>Sabodhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. - <i>anuśa[sti]ya</i> , <i>bhatiya</i> .	
Dat. - <i>anuśastiye</i> , <i>vaḍhiya</i> .	
Abl. <i>nivṛṭṭiya</i> , <i>Ta[m̐]bapam̐[ni]ya</i> .	
Loc. <i>ayatiya</i> .	

With the nom. plur *aṭavi* cf. Pāli *rattī*, nom. plur. of *ratti* (= Skt. *rātrī*).

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Gīrnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sadhu*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*; nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*; instr. plur. *bahuhi*; gen. plur. *guruna*, *garuna*.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ri.

Nom. plur. *nataro*.
Gen. plur. *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*.²
Loc. plur. *pitushu*.

The instr. sing. follows the *u*-declension: *pituna*, *bhratuna*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. sing. masc. *sa[m̐]taṁ* (*sataṁ*) and *karamtaṁ* (*karataṁ*).

(2) Masculine in -vat.

Nom. sing. *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>raja</i> , <i>raya</i> .	<i>rajano</i> , <i>rajani</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nama</i> .	
Instr. <i>raña</i> .	
Gen. <i>raño</i> .	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kramani*, dat. *krammāye*.

¹ The Skt. feminine *stri*, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form *i[stri]*.

² At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is *spas[u]na*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.Nom. sing. *Priyadraśi*.Instr. sing. *Priyadraśina*.Gen. sing. *Priyadraśisa*.Acc. plur. [*a*]*stina* (*asti*[*ne*]) at Mānsehrā).The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*.Acc. Sing. *yaśo*, *bhuy*[*e*].The base *vacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *joti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtis*.(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānsehrā (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *ahani*.Instr. sing. *maya*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maha*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	
Nom. masc. <i>so</i>	} neut. <i>tañ</i> , <i>so</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>tañ</i>	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Dat. <i>taye</i> .	
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .	

Plural.

Masc. *te*.*tesha*[*ñe*], *tesha*.Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānsehrā; cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *eta*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>eshe</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etani</i> , <i>etake</i> , <i>eshe</i>	Masc. <i>eta</i> (I, 3).	
(X, section E).		
Instr. <i>etakena</i> .		
Dat. <i>etaye</i> , <i>etakaye</i> .		
Gen. <i>etisa</i> (III, 6; XII, 9).		

Nom. sing. fem. *esha* (XIII, 4).

The *i* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *kī*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*).

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayaṁ, ayi*; neut. *idaṁ, ida, imaṁ, ima, iyaṁ, iyo*.

Acc. neut. *imaṁ*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya, ayi*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6).

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ēta*) and the Gīrnār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf. the feminine bases *imī, tī, eī, jī, kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite *kichi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kiti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo, y[e]*; neut. *yaṁ, ye*.

Acc. neut. *yaṁ, yo* (X, 21); *[e]* (XIII, 5).

Instr. *ye[na]*.

Gen. *yaśa*.

Loc.

Masc. *ye*.

Plural.

yesha (*yesha[ni]* at Mānsehrā).

yesu.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *añe, aññi*; neut. *añam*.¹

Acc.

Dat. *añaye*.

Gen. *añamañasa*.

Masc. *aññe* } neut. *añani*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.

Nom. neut. *sav[r]am, savre*.

Acc. masc. and neut. *savram, savam*.

Loc.

Masc. *save*.

savreshu, saveshu.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[bha]y[e]sa* (*ubhayesaṁ* at Mānsehrā).

(11) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekatare*.

(12) Base **ekatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekatia*.

¹ *añ[e]* at Mānsehrā, IV, 15.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [*e**]*kanī*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duv*[*i*].

Three.

Nom. masc. *trayo*.

Four.

As in *Ardhamāgadhi* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturah*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchashu*, *shashu*.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[*aṭha*], *daśa*, *badaya*(*śa*), *todaśa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateshu*.

The ordinal is *śata* ; see *śata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Indic
Card Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa*[*ta-saha*]*sre*.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram* : *parakramati*, *nik*[*r*]*amatu*.Root *garh* : *garahati*.Root *ji* : [*vi*]*jinamano*, *vijiniti* ; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.Root *trap* : *avatrapeyu*.Root *drīś* : [*da*]*khati*.Root *nī* : *anuneti*.Root *bhū* : *bhoti*, *hoti*.

Root *labh* : the absolutive *ara*[*bhitu*] and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]*yis*[*u*] and *arabhi-santi* presuppose the present **arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhat*).

Root *vas* : *vasati*.Root *vrī* : *anuvatat*, *anuvatsanti*.

Root *vraj*: *vrachamti*. For Prākṛit *vachchāi* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati* see Hēma-chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *tiṭhiti* (IV, 10) presupposes the present **tiṭṭhati* (= Skt. *tishṭhati*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *han*: *upahamti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*. The gerundive [*ṣ*]*rayuhotave* is formed from the Skt. present *juhōti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyati*.

Root *man*: *mañati* and *meñati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prapūṇati*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śruṇeyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*: *karoti*; but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *karamitaṃ* and *ka[ra]min[o]* presuppose the present **karati*, **karate*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kshaṇati*.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *aś* follows the *a*-conjugation: *aśamana* (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dipayami*, *draśayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pūjeti*, *pūjetaviya*, *a[ra]dheti*, *aradhetu*, *rochetu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, *a-locheti*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedetavo*, *nivaṭeti*, *vaḍheti*.

(b) With *paya*: *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *anapeśamti*, *aṇapita*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *hapeśadi*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likha[ṣ]eśami*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *nīpesapita*, *harapita*.

(2) *Moods*.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*vi*]*jīnamana*, *ka[ra]mina*, *aśamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *parak[r]amami*, *karoni*, *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*.

3. sing. *parakramati*, *garahati*, [*da*]*khati*, *anuneti*, *bhoti* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahamti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *kshaṇati*, *anunija(jha)peti*, *pūjeti*, *a[ra]dheti*, *nivaṭeti*, *vaḍheti*.

3. plur. *anuvāṇamti*, *vrachamti*, *ichhamti*. The Anusvāra is missing in *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapūṇati*, *karo[ti]* (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *dipayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *v[r]acheyañ* (from **vrachhati* = Skt. *vrajati*).

3. sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṭipajeyati*, *apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarōti*), *nivāṭeyati*¹ (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.

3. plur. *avatrapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *śruṇeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ha*]mñeyasu (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *bhotu*, *anuvātatu*.

3. plur. *parakramāntu*, *yujāntu*. The Anusvāra is missing in *nik[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *arādhetu*, *rochetu*, *paṭivedetu*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (= Skt. *abhavat*).

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. *nikrami*.

3. plur. *nikramishu*. In *abhuvasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-su* seems to be affixed to *abhūvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*; cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *lo[ch]e[sh]u* (*alochayisu* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā).²

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āha*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: *ahati* and *hahati*.³

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kasham* ([*ka*]shami at Mānsehrā), *likha[p]esami* (while Gīrnār has *likhāpayisam*).

3. sing. *kashati*, *vaḍhiṣati*, *haṭṭṣadi*.

3. plur. *kashānti*, *an[u]vaṭiṣānti*, *vraḥshānti* (from root *vraj*), *anusāṣiṣānti* (from *anu-śās*), *aṇaṭṭṣānti*, *pra[va]dh[e]ṣānti* (*pavaḍhayiṣānti* at Mānsehrā).

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *prasavati* (= *prasāvvyatē*).

3. plur. indicative [*a*]nuvidhiyānti (= *anuvīdhīyanti*), *hamñānt[i]* (= *hanyantē*).

3. plur. optative [*ha*]mñeyasu (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *syuh*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.

3. sing. imperative *anuvī[dhi]yatu*.

3. plur. aorist [*arabhi*]yis[u] (from Skt. *ālabyatē*).

3. plur. future *anuvīdhīyisām[ti]* (from Skt. *anuvīdhīyatē*), *arabhiṣānti* (for **ālabyishyanti* from Skt. *ālabyatē*).⁴

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative *suśrusheyu*.

3. sing. imperative *suśrushatu*.

¹ Mānsehrā reads *nivāṭeya*.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.

⁴ Cf. *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, and *ārabhisare* at Gīrnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bh*

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *sa[m]taṁ* (*sataṁ*).

Root *kṛi*: *karamtaṁ* (*karataṁ*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: *[vi]jinamana*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root *kṛi*: *ka[ra]mina*.

Root *aś*: *aśamana*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-mīna* are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muṭa* (= *mṛta*), *kiṭa*, *[kr]i[ta]*, and *kiṭra* (= *kṛita*), *vapaṭa*, *viyapaṭa*, and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*, V, 13), *vistrīṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *niṣita* (= **niṣṛita*), *nipista* (= Ancient Persian *nipishta*; see above, p. xlii), *nipesita*, *nipesapita*, *likhita*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *harapita*, *aropita*, *anapita*, *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*), *atikrata* (= *atikrānta*), *[la]pita*, *nivṛta* (= *nirvṛita*), *vuta* (= *uṭta*), *samata* (= *samāpta*), *saṁkshita* (= *saṁkshipta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavṛuḍha* (= *apōḍha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *prasana* (i. e. *prasanna*), *viprahina* (i. e. *°hina*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kshamitaviya*, *pujetaviya*, *viyetav[i]a*, *kaṭava*, *vatava*, *[p]rayuhotava*, *paṭive-detava*.

(b) In *-anīya*: *v[e]dani[ya]*.

(c) In *-ya*: *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*)

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ara[bhita]*, *paritijitu* (from root *tyaj* with *Samprasāraṇa* of *ya*), *śrutu*, *draśayitu*.

(b) In *-ti* (= Vedic *-tvī*):¹ *tiṭhiti* (from the Skt. present *tishṭhāti*), *viṇiti* (from the present *vi-jinati*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1), *a-locheti*.

(c) In *-ya*: *saṁkhy[a]* (from *saṁ-khyā*).

The dialect of the *Mānsehrā* text is nearly identical with the *Shāhbāzgarhi* one, but contains some more Māgadhisms.² It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at *Mānsehrā* which differ from the corresponding ones at *Shāhbāzgarhi*.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayeme* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[un]i[sa]* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ri* the *Mānsehrā* version has (1) *a* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, *[ma]ṭe*; (2) *u* in *[pa]r[i]puchha*, *vapaṭa* (= Skt. *vyāpṛita*); (3) *e* in *gehatha* (= *grihastha*);³ (4) *ra* in *viyapraṭa* (V, 24);⁴ (5) *ar* in *kaṭra* (i. e. *kaṭa* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vadhri* (i. e. *varddhi* = Skt. *vṛiddhi*); (6) *ri* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigaviya* (= *mrigavyā*); (7) *ru* in *vruḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*);⁵ (8) *ur* in *vudhra* (i. e. *vurddha* = Skt. *vṛiddha*). For *ruchha* = Skt. *vṛiksha* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[di]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *g* in *[A]tiyoge*

¹ Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.

² Cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 285 f.

³ The Prākṛit form *gēha* is used for *griha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root *ēdh* = *ridh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I. 39.

⁴ The spelling (5) *kaṭra* (for *kaṭa*) suggests that (4) *viyapraṭa* is meant for *viyaparta*.

⁵ The spellings (5) *vadhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vruḍhi* is meant for *vurddhi*.

(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*) and *kichhi* (= **kid* + *chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa* (III, 9) = *duva*[*da*]*śa* (IV, 18), *treḍaśa* (V, 21), and after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *sukaṭa*, [*mā*]*te*, *vapūṭa*, *viyapraṭa*, *vrudhi*. Sanskrit *ṇ* is preserved in *paṇatika* (= *praṇaptṛika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *ti*[*nī*] (= *trīṇī*). In *aṇaṇiyam* (VI, 31) the first *ṇ* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *bh* of the root *bhū* has become *h* in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, [*hu*]*veyu*, *husu*, *huta-pruve* (twice), but not in *bhuta-pruva* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e*, *aṁ* (= *yat*), [*a*]*diśe* (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *supadarave* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *ś* of *śa*[*śa*]*yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *husu*, [*arab*]*isu*, and [*alo*]*chay*[*i*]*su*, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *āha*) and *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *as* becomes *o* only in *tato*, *mukhato* (VI, 28), *yaśo*, *Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *niśito* (V, 25), but generally *e*; see *he*[*tute*], *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *natare* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *rajine* (= *rājñah*), *ra*[*jane*] (= *rājānah*), *Priyadraśine* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vinī*[*k*]*ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a + o* becomes *e* in *usaṭen-eva* (X, 11), and *ā + u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadaye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhī, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirarthiya*, *vadhrite* and *vadhrayisati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vardhayisati*. Similarly *kaṭra* (= Skt. *kṛita*, V, 24) stands for *karṭa*,¹ *vadhri* (= *vṛiddhi*) for *varddhi*, *vudhra* (= *vṛiddha*) for *vurddha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aparata* (V, 22), *samata* (II, 6), [*A*]*tiyoge*, *Adha*, *a*[*na*]*taliyena*, *anarabhe*, *anubadha*, *apa-bha*[*ḍata*], [*aba*]*ka*, *asapa*[*f*]*ipati*, *Gadharana*, *-chhade*, *para*[*kra*]*mate* (3. plur.), *satirana* (VI, 30), *hache* (for *hamche*).

ksh becomes *chh* in *chhanati* and *ruchhani*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṭanata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), but *jin* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajine* (= *rājñah*).

ny becomes *ṇ* in *puna*, *punaṁ*, *apu*[*ne*].

tm becomes *tv* in *atva*- (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, [*eka*]*tiya*.

tr remains in *treḍaśa*, but becomes *t* in *ti*[*nī*] (= Skt. *trīṇī*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.²

dr becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa* and *duva*[*ḍa*]*śa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *istrija*(*ja*)*ksha*.

ny becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana*[*tra*] (X, 11); *ṇ* in *aṇe*, *aṇatra* (X, 9), *aṇamanasa*, *maṇati*, *maṇ*[*ishu*].

pr remains in *pra*[*o*]*tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika*, *pavaḍhayisanti*, *avipahin*[*e*], *paṭibhogaye*, *paṭiveśiyena*.

br becomes *b* in *bamaṇa* (IV, 15) = *bramaṇa* (passim).

bhy remains in *-ibhyeshu*, but becomes *bhiy* in [*ara*]*bh*[*iyanti*], and *bh* in [*arab*]*isu* (aorist passive).

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhata*(*tu*)*na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

my remains in *samya*-.

rg becomes *g* in *ma*[*geshu*].

rt becomes *t* in *anuvaṭatu* and *kiṭi* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

rth remains in *nirathriya* (i. e. *nirarthiya*).

rdh remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayisati* (i. e. *vardha*^o), but becomes *dh* in *vadhite* (IV, 12).

ly becomes *y* in *kayana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vapūṭa*; *viiy* in *viyapraṭa*, *vi*[*yaṁja*]*nate*, *mrigaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *pra*[*johi*]*taviye*, *vataviye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

vr becomes *v* in [*p*]*rava*[*ji*]*tani*.

st becomes *tk* in *samtha*[*v*]*e*.

¹ In *viyapraṭa* (i. e. *viyaparṭa* = Skt. *vyāpṛita*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

sth becomes *ṣh* in *chira-ṭhitika*

sr becomes *s* in *pa[r]isave*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadha*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *puja[m]*; loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*.¹

Masculines in *-i*: loc. plur. *[Na]bhapa[m]tishu*.

Masculines in *-ṛi*: nom. plur. *natare*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *aśatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an*: instr. sing. *rajina*; dat. sing. *krama[n]e* (i. e. *karmaṇe*); gen. sing. *rajine*; nom. plur. *ra[jane]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadrasine*.

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. *aam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28); instr. sing. *me* (III, 9).

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. *tehi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nam]* (XIII, 5).

Base *ṛta*: nom. sing. masc. *[eṣha]* (XIII, 6); gen. sing. *e[ta]sa*; nom. plur. neut. *[e]tani*.

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35); gen. sing. *imasa*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*; nom. sing. fem. *iyam*; dat. sing. fem. *imaye*.

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*.

Base *itara*: nom. sing. neut. *[i]tare*.

Numerals: *[e]k[e]* (nom. sing. masc.), *du[v]e*, *tī[ni]*, *duva[da]śa* and *duva[dā]śa*, *treḍaśa*.

Present indicative: 3. plur. *yaṁti* (from root *i* or *yā*).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. *dipayama*; 3. plur. middle: *para[kra]mate*.—Optative: 1. sing. *ye[ham]* and 3. plur. *[hu]veyu*, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist *husu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (i. e. *āha*).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative *[ara]bh[iyaṁti]* (*alabhi[yam]tī* at Kālsī); 3. plur. aorist *[arabh]isu* (*ārabhisu* at Gīrnār).

Present participle: *aśatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *aś*.

Past passive participle: *[anapayit]e* (III, 9),² *ropapita* (*ropāpita* at Gīrnār).

Future passive participle: *pra[johi]taviye*; see above, p. lxxx.

Absolutive in *-ti*: *drasēti*.

CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhiyis[āmi]**. It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udupāna* (= *udapāna*).

The *a* in the second syllable of *puṭhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *svīd*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *v*. For *e* = *ṛ* and *i* in *heta* (= **itra*) and *edisā*, *hedisā* (= Skt. *idṛiśa*), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. *u* is represented by *α* in *pana* (= *panah*). In *pulisa* (= *purusha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

¹ This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

Skt. *ṛi* becomes (1) *a* in *ana[n]a* (= *anṛiṇa*), *ānaṁna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānancya*, *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu* (= *kṛitvā*), *dakhatha*, *dakhāmi*, [*bha*]ṭaka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *viṭhaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *tādisa*, *ādisa* (= *yādrīsa*), *dhiti*, *p[i]ṭ[i]su*, *bhāt[i]nam*, *m[ā]ṭ[i]*- (= *māṭṛi*-, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*miga*]viy[ā]; (3) *u* in *pitu*- (= *pitṛi*-, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]nā[v]uti [= *anāvṛitti*], *p[al]i*[*puchh*]ā, *puṭhavi* (= *prithivī*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*; (5) *ra* in *drakhati* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vṛi* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vṛiksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *nīche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāik*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-[o]paya*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *papotā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atiyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *abhikā[la]*, *chi[la]-ṭhitikā*, [*v*]i[vāha], *anāvūtiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]nā[v]uti[*ya*] (Jau. Sep.), *tūlanā[ya]* and *aṭ[ū][a]nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads *t[ul]āya* and *[atulanā]*), *nīṭhūiyena*, *y[ū]jeyū* and *yūjevū* (also *yujeyū* and *yujevū*), *bahūhi*, *bahūsu*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā*, *ākā* (passim) = *ā[ha]* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭipādayemā ti*, *ma[m]ā ti*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *ēva*), *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmī*, *aphesū ti*, *ālādhayamti ti*, [*ka*]tū (Jau. Sep.) = *kaṭu* (Dhau. Sep.), *palakama[m]i[ū]*, *yujamti*, *s[ā]dh[ū] ti*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*aph*]ākā *ti*, *anusathī ti*, *āl[adh]i*, [*n*]ijhatī, *lipi*, *v[a]dhī*, *sudhī*, *alochayisū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*, *chaley[ū]* *ti* and *chalevū*, *nikhamāvū*, *pāpunevū iti*, *yujeyū ti* and *yujevū ti*, *y[ū]jeyū ti* and *yūjevū ti*, *lahey[ū]*, [*va*]sevū *ti*, *huvevū ti* and *hveyū ti*.

The three derivatives *gamu[k]a*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanik[a]* correspond to Skt. *gāmuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā*- is shortened in *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *aiha* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adā* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *pita* and *pitā*, *lāja* and *lājā*, *va* and *vā*, *kam[mana]* and *kamana* (= *karmaṇā*), [*a*]nā[v]uti[*ya*] and *anāvūtiya*, and the nominatives singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhiṭ[a]*, *sotaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nitiyam* (thrice) = *nīṭ[i]yam* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *naṭ[i]* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apti*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *kiṁti*, *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*). In *hveyū* (Jau. Sep.) = *huveyu* (Kālsī and Mānsehrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

Indira Gandhi
Centre for the Jew

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugaḍa the guttural *k* is softened in *palalogam*, *hidalog[am]*, *hidalogika*, while Dhauḷi reads *palaloka[m]*, *hidaloḷa*, *hidalogika*.¹ *k* is represented by *y* in [*nilaṭhi*]yam (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadālaye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); *g* by *y* in *-[o]paya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkaśa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kkh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.² Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amṭiyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]e[*chha*] (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kiṁchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]jalā (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kambocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugaḍa text reads *paṭimnā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *āna-payāmi*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti*, *nāṭisu*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṇ* is used in four stray instances: [*kha*]nas[*i*] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *ñijhap[e]ta[vi]ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]* (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *savenā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *praṭi* in *praṭivedayamti*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ri* in *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]tū and *kaṭu*, *puṭhaviyam*, [*bha*]ṭaka, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *viṭhaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vuḍha*. *t* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]i[*th*]itu. In the Jaugaḍa separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad*: *paṭipātayeham*, [*pa*]ṭipātayem[*a*], *vipaṭipātayamtam*, [*sam*]paṭipā[*ta*]yam[*ta*], *sampaṭipātayis[av]e*, while Dhauḷi reads [*pa*]ṭi[*pāday*]eham, &c. For [*idha*] (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *nam* (in *huvaṁti nam*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

¹ Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalokika*.

² For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nanu*; but in Pischel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nūnam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *aphal[usa]m* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākṛit *pharusa* (= Skt. *parusha*); see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *lahey[ū]* and *lahevu*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a[h]o*, *huvaṃti*, *[h]uveyā*, *huvevu*, and in the participle *hūta*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālābheham*, *yeham*, *[pā]ti[pāday]eham* and *paṭipātayeham*. It is replaced by *v* before *u* and *ū* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugaḍa; see *-āvutike*, *asvasevu*, *ālādhayevū*, *chalevū*, *[p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū*, *yujevū* and *yūjevū*, *lahevu*, *[va]sevū*, *huvevu* and *huvevū*, instead of which Jaugaḍa reads *-āy[us]like*, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *nikhamāvū* (III, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e*, *ena*, *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yathā*), *adā* and *ada* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *yā*), *āni*, *ādise*, *āva* (= *yāvat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa-viy[a]t[ā]*, *palitijit[u]*, *bhaṭi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= **trayadaśa*), *Ujeni* (= *Ujjayinī*), *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

v is prefixed to *u* in *v[u]te* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *t[us]āya* and *[atulanā]*; *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]tū* (= *kṛitvā*), and *u* in *kaṭu*, *anusāsitu*, and other absolutes. The syllables *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *olodhana*, *viyovadita[viye*]*, *-viiyohālaka*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *a[h]o*, and *hosati* (= *bhavishyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *chakiye* and *chaghatha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

h is prefixed in *hida*, *heta*, *hedisa*, *hevan*.

As in other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *samīyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p[a]lisā* (= *parishat*), *anusathī*, *ālādhayevū*, &c. (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see *[siya]* and *siyā* (= *syāt*), *da[khrya]* and *ḍakh[e]yā*, *anubandh[a]* (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina*, &c. (below, p. civ). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *Ujenite*, *kute*, *T[a]kha[s]ilāte*, *duvālate*, *mukhate*, *viyanjanate*, *hetute*, the genitives singular *aṭane*, *lājine*, *Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājāne*, *da[v]iye*, *[bhuy]e*, *ne*, *jane*, &c. It becomes *o* only in *seto*, *[ya]so*, and *man[o]-*; *a* in *[sam]pā[ṭipāda]* (?), *sa*, *esa*; ¹ *ā* in *e[sā]*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *anite* = Prākṛit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pana* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *maman* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahasenū* (Dhau.) = *sahasesu* (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaloka*, *bahuka*, *-vachanik[a]*, *-a[n]tik[a]*, &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Samibodh[i]* and *hīni*, *aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākam*) and *t[u]phāk[a]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kiṭi*, *vadhī*, *sudhī*, *kaṭaviyatālā*, *k[am]matalā*, *duvālā*, *[aph]ākā ti*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhaginānām*, *gulīnām*, *bhāt[i]nām*, *[te]sa[n]*, *pānānām*, &c., the acc. sing. fem. *yātām*, *susūsām*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pa]lisāy[am]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyam*, *Tosalīyam*, *nītiyam*, *puṭhaviyam*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palisāyā* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tes[a]* and *samītilanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.²

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *[ta]d[o]payā*, and final *m* in *hedisamēva*. In *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvamēva*) the syllable *va* of *ēvam* is dropped.³ The final *m* is doubled in *hevanimeva* and *sukhanimeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhaṭi[m-ayesu]*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[a]-ālādhi* (Jau. Sep.), *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy[e]* (Jau.

¹ The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

² But *palisāyā* and *samītilanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

³ Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *ēvamēva*, Hēmachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.

Sep.), *duāhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[o]-atileke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhisita*, *pānālabhe*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalamtā* (= **āpa-rāntāk*), [*ɛ*][*na*]*tā* (= *tēnātra*), *nathi* (= *nāsti*), *badhana*[*n*]*tik*[*a*] (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sūpaṭhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha*[*n*]-*ibhi*[*yes*]*u*, *chu* (= *cha* + *u*), [*pa*]*j-upadāye*, *ch-eva*, [*ta*]*hesa*, *munis-opagāni*. In *eve* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *am* of *evam* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yah*). *a* is elided after *e* in [*e*]*y*[*am*] for *e* + *ayam* (= Skt. *yō-yam*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *sy*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugaḍa in *drasayitu* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*; cf. above, p. lxxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *atane* (= *ātmanah*), *atānam*, *atiyāyike* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anustāsti*), *anusathe*, [*ayesu*] (= *āryēshu*), *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa*[*n*]*iyā*, [*a*]*svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*), *tadatvāye*, *p*[*a*]*lakamāmi*, *palakamena*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Lathika*, *sasvatam*, *isāya* (= *īrshyayā*), *kifi* (= *kirtim*), *puluva* (= *pūrva*).¹ But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*is*[*a*]*ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatam* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *timni* (= *trīṇi*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsa*[*n*]*iyā*, *da*[*v*]*īye*, and [*bhuy*]*e* suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsaniyyā*, *daviyye*, and *bhuyye*; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikanitam*, *apa-bh*[*am*]*ḍatā*, *kilamte*, *Devānampiya*, *Pamḍiyā*, *bambhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chhāminda* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chhaminda* (passim), the *am* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *vihisā*; after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before *y* in *anusayānam*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *saṃyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*, *puluva*, *suṇāmika*, *pāpunāti*; *e* in *ānaneyam* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānaniyam* (Dhau.); and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

kḥk becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukha*[*n*] and *dukhīyati*.

kt becomes *t* in *-āyut*[*i*]*ike*, *-āvutike*, &c.

ky becomes *kiy* in *sakiye* and *chakiye*.

kl becomes *kil* in *kilamte*, *k*[*i*]*lamathena*, *palikilesa*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamitave*, *khamisati*, [*kh*]*ud*[*am*], *khudakena*, *T*[*a*]*kha*[*s*]*ilāte*, *dakhāmi*, &c.,² *nakhatena*, *mokhāye*, *lukkāni*.

kshn becomes *khin* in *s*[*a*]*khina* (= Skt. *ślakshṇa*).

kshy becomes *gh* in *chaghatha*.

khy remains in *mokhya* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhiya* (Jau. Sep.).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in [*a*]*gi*, but *gin* in *anuvigina*.

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājinā*, *lājine*; *mñ* in *paṭimñā* (Dhau. Sep.); *nn* or *n* in *paṭininnā* (Jau. Sep.), *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*is*[*a*]*ti*, *ānāp*[*ay*]*i*[*ta*], *nātisu*.

jy becomes *j* in the passive forms *rujeyū* and *y*[*ū*]*jeyū*.

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* in *Pamḍiyā*.

ny becomes *nn* in *hilamna* and *ānamne*, but *niy* in *ānaniyam*, and *ney* in *ānaneyam*.

tp becomes *p* in [*pa*]*jupadāye*.

¹ *puluva* presupposes an intermediate form **purva*, in which the *ū* of *pūrva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atiyāyike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

² See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

- tm* becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānam*.
ty becomes *tiy* in *atīyāyike*, *apātiye*, *ekatiyā*.
tr remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tiṃni*, &c.
tv remains in *tadatvāye*.
ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena* and *chikisā*.
tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*, but *th* in *uṭhāy[ā]*; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.
dg becomes *g* in *uga[chha](chhe)*.
dy becomes *y* in *uyānasi*; *j* in *aja*, *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*, *paṭipajeyā*, *saṃpaṭipajati*, *sa[n̄]paṭi-pajam[ī]n[e]*.
dv becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*, *duvāla*.
dhy becomes *jh* in *[n]ijhatī*, *ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*, *majham*, *majhime[na]*.
ny remains in *[anye]* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *nn* in *aṃna* (passim) and *maṃn[ate]*.
pt becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[ī]* and *nati* (= Skt. *naptārah*), *[n]ijhatī*.
pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.
pr remains in *praṭivedayaṃtu* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.
bhy becomes *bhiy* in *āla[m̄]bhīyaṃti*, *ālabhiyisu*, *āla[bh]ijīsaṃti*, *-ibhi[yes]u*.
my remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṃmyā-*.
rk becomes *kh* in *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkasā*).
rg becomes *g* in *agesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.
rt becomes *t* in *[anu]vatatu* and *anuvatisaṃti*; *ṭ* in *vaṭitaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *kiṭi*.
rth becomes *ṭh* in *atha* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14); *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim) and *[nilaṭhi]yam*.
rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhite*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *pavaḍhayisaṃti*.
rbh becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgālaṣi*.
rm becomes *mm* or *m* in *a[nu]chātummasaṃ*, *kaṃma-* (= Skt. *karman*) and *kaṃana* (= *kar-maṇā*), *dhaṃma*.
ry becomes *y* in *[ayesu]*, but *liy* in *ānaṃtaliyaṃ*, *niṭhūliyena*, *mādhuliyāye*.
rv becomes *v* in *pavatasī* and *sava*, but *lūv* in *puluva*.
rs becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasi-*, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (i. e. *°darsine*, Jau. I, 3).
rsh becomes *s* in *vasa*.
rshy becomes *s* in *iṣāya*.
lp becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kaṃam*.
ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.
vy remains in *saṃchalitaviye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in *[ichhi]taye* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *vīy* in *saṃchalitaviy[e]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitaviye*, and other gerundives, *divi[y]āni*, *[miga]vīy[ā]*, *vīyaṃjanate*, *vīyāpaṭā*, *-vīyohālaka*.
vr becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajē*).
sch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*.
sl becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakṣhṇa*).
sv becomes *sv* in *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa[n]īyā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *sāsvataṃ* and *sasvataṃ*, but *s* in *seto*.
shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭam* and *dukala*.
shkr becomes *kh* in *nikhamāvū*, *[n]ikhami*, *[n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]*, *nikhamisaṃti*, *nikhāmayisāmi*.
shtr becomes *ṭh* in *Laṭhika*.
shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *[ch]i[ṭh]itu*, *niṭhūliyena*, *se[ṭhe]*; *th* in *adhithāna*.
shp becomes *ph* in *niphati*.
shm becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.
sky becomes *s* in *tisa*, *munisa*, *hosatī*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *k* in *ehatha* (Dhau. Sep.); cf. Māhārāṣṭrī *ehii* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *ehiti* in Pāli.
As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *[a]gi-kaṃdhāni*.
st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *anusathi*, *anusathe*, *vithaṭena*, *saṃthuta*, *hathini*; *ṭh* in *aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).
str becomes *th* in *ithi*.
sth becomes *ṭh* in *chila-ṭhīṭkā*.
sm remains in *akasmā*, but becomes *ph* in *aphe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy remains in [āla]s[y]e[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *ālasiyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [siya] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svaga*, but becomes *suv* in *svāmike*[na].

hm becomes *m̐bh* in *bām̐bhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES in -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>osadhāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhamman̐</i> , &c.; neut. <i>māṅgalan̐</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>kaṁdhāni</i> , y[u]t[ān]i; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Instr. <i>putena</i> , &c.	<i>jāte</i> [h]i.
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmātehi</i> , <i>samanehi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubam̐dh[a]</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>pānānan̐</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>aṭhasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [saṁpa]t̐pāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-o* instead of *-e* in the colophon of Dhau: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is *-am̐* in *jīvam̐* (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and *duvālan̐* (Jau. Sep. I, 2); *-a* in *-a[m̐]tik[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 5), *duvāl[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v[a]ṭṭaviya* (Jau. Sep. I, 7); *-ā* in *kaṭaviyatālā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[am̐]matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidaloḥa* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *bahuka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vachanik[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānan̐ne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[hā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpitā* and *hālāpitā* (Dhau. II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālsī and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vṛiksha* and *prāṇa* are used as neuters: *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Nom. sing. <i>pajā</i> , &c.
Acc. sing. <i>yātam̐</i> , <i>susūsam̐</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>isāya</i> , t[ul]āya, tūlanā[ya].
Loc. sing. <i>Samāpāyam̐</i> , <i>saṁtilanāya</i> , <i>pajāye</i> , [pa]jupadāye.

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit[a]*, *sotaviya*.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. and. acc. plur. neut. *timni*.
Loc. plur. *nātisu*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Nom. sing. *anusathi*, *āladhi*, *lipi*, &c.
Acc. sing. *Sam̐bodh[i]*, *hīni*.
Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvūtiya*.

Dat. sing. *anus[ath]iy[ε]*, [*va*]dhiye.

Abl. sing. *niphatiy[ā]*.

Loc. sing. *Tosaliyam, nitiyam, puṭhaviyam, ā[ya]tiye.*

Nom. plur. *ithī*.¹

Gen. plur. *bhaginīnam.*

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusathī, āl[adh]i, [n]ijhati, lipī, v[a]dhī* (Dhau. IV, section I), *sudhī* (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-i* in *kīṭi, vadhī* (Dhau. IV, J), *sudhī* (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

III. BASES IN *-u*.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sādhu, sād[h]ū*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahūni.*

Instr. plur. *bahūhi.*

Gen. plur. *gulūnam.*

Loc. plur. *bahūsu.*

IV. MASCULINES IN *-ri*.

Nom. Sing. *pitā, pita* (Jau. Sep. II, 10).

Gen. plur. *bhāt[i]nam.*

Loc. plur. *p[i]ṭ[i]su.*

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: [*p*]itīnā. *bhātīnā*, likewise the nom. plur. *nat[i]*, *nati*; cf. Prakṛit and Pāli *aggī* (nom. plur. masc.).

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtam, kalām̐tam,² vipaṭipātayām̐tam, [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]tam.*

The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *mahanīte*.

(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lāja</i> (Dhau. Sep. II, 4).	<i>lājāne.</i>
Acc. masc. <i>atānam</i> ; neut. <i>nāma.</i>	
Instr. <i>lājinā, kaṁ[manā], kamana.</i>	
Dat. <i>kaṁmane.</i>	
Gen. <i>atane, lājine.</i>	

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kaṁne*, acc. *kaṁmani*, gen. *kaṁmasa.*

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī.*

Instr. sing. *Piyadasinā.*

Gen. sing. *Piyadasine.*

Acc. plur. *hathīni* (= [*ha*]thini at Kālsī).

(4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. [*ya*]so, *da[v]iye, [bhuy]e.*

(5) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *p[a]lisā*, loc. [*pa*]lisāy[am] and *palisāyā.*

¹ Cf. *aṭavi*, above, p. xci.

² For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakam̐</i> .	<i>maye</i> .
Acc.	<i>aphe</i> , <i>a[ph]eni</i> .
Instr. <i>mamayā</i> , <i>mamāye</i> , <i>mamiyāye</i> , <i>me</i> .	
Abl. <i>mamate</i> .	
Gen. <i>mama</i> , <i>mamā</i> , <i>mamam̐</i> , <i>me</i> .	<i>aphāka</i> , <i>[aph]ākā</i> , <i>ne</i> .
Loc.	<i>[aphesu]</i> , <i>aphesū</i> .

For the forms *hakam̐* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamiyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hēmachandra, III, 109. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattah* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *mayā*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. *a[ph]eni* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>phe</i> .
Acc. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>tupheni</i> .
Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>t[ɹ]phāk[a]</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i> .

The base **tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhe*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumam̐*).¹ With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhe*, Hēmachandra, III, 91. The three forms *tupheni* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se</i> , <i>te</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).	<i>te</i> , <i>se</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>tam̐</i> , <i>se</i> , <i>sa</i> .	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>[te]sa[m̐]</i> , <i>tes[a]</i> .
Loc. <i>tasi</i> .	

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tām̐* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>e[sā]</i> (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> ; neut. <i>etām̐</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etam̐</i> .	
Instr. <i>[e]takena</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> , <i>etakāye</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etasi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā*.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. *ete [jātā]* corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *et[sā]ni jātā[ni]* in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

¹ With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ay[am]</i> , <i>iyam</i> ; neut. <i>iyam</i> .	Masc. <i>ime</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>iman</i> .	
Instr. <i>imena</i> .	<i>imehi</i> .
Dat. [<i>i</i>]n[<i>ā</i>]ye.	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam*.
Dat. sing. fem. *imā[y]e*.

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *ayam* occurs only in [*e*]y[*am*] (= Skt. *yo-yam*, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kim*. The acc. sing. neut. *kam* and the acc. plur. neut. *kāni* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechā*, [*k*][*e*][*chha*]), and with *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (neut. sing. *kinchhi*, *kichhi*); and *kimti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>āni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>an</i> .	
Instr. <i>ena</i> .	
Gen. <i>asa</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *ṛā, ā*.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [<i>anye</i>], <i>amne</i> ; neut. <i>amne</i> .	Masc. <i>amne</i> } neut. <i>amnāni</i> .
Acc.	
Dat. <i>amnāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>amnesu</i> .

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. <i>save</i> .	Masc. <i>save</i> .
Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savam</i> .	
Instr. <i>savena</i> , <i>savenā</i> .	
Gen. <i>savasa</i> .	
Loc.	<i>savesu</i> .

(10) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*; instr. sing. *ekena*, *ek[a]k[e]na*.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. *pañichasu*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

d[a]sa, duvādasa, tedasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satani*; instr. *satehi*.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. *sahasasu, sahasesum* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākṛit also uses the termination *-esum* besides *-esu*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sah[a]sāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kamp*: *anukāṃpati*.

Root *kram*: *p[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāvū*.

Root *gam*: *gachhema*.

Root *chal*: *chaley[ū]*.

Root *dṛś*: *dakhāmi, drakhati, dekhata*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti, huvaṃti* (sixth class).

Roots *rabh* and *labh*: *ālabheham, lahey[ū]*.

Root *vas*: *[va]sevū*.

Root *vṛt*: *[anu]vatatu*.

Root *śvas*: *[a]svaseyu*.

Root *sthā*: *[ch]i[th]itu* (from **chittḥati*), *uthāy[ā]* (from **utthāti*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi, aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

Root *i*: *eti*.

The two roots *yā* and *śās* follow the *a*-conjugation: *yekam, anusāsāmi*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*: *pajokitaviye*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*.

Root *man*: *maṃn[ate]*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpuncyu*).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujeyū* and *yājeyū, yujamti, yujisanti*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi* : *kaleti*, *kalāmi*, *kalamīti*, *kalamītam* ; see above, p. lxxxii.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jñā* : *jānitu* and *jānīsamīti* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *atikāmayisati*, *nikhāmayisāmi*, *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *paṭipādayemā*, *ālādhayaṃtū*, *likhiyis[āmi]**, *alochayisū*, *vaḍhayis[a]ti*, *vedayati*, *sukhayāmi*. The character *ayi* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetaviye*.

(b) With *paya* : *hāpayisat[i]*. In *ānapayāmi* and *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*¹ the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhyā* is shortened.²

(c) With *āpaya* : *khānāpitāni*, *likhāpitā*, *hālāpita*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*.

(e) With *īya* : *dukkhīyati* (denominative of Skt. *duḥkha*).

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *p[a]lakamāmi*, *dakhāmi*, *anusāsāmi*, *ichhāmi*, *kalāmi*, *ānapayāmi*.

3. sing. *anukāṃpati*, *[pa]lakama[ti]*, *drakhati*, *hoti*, *athi* and *aṭhi*, *eti*, *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*, *samṭipapajati*, *pāpunāti*, *ichhati*, *kal[e]ti*, *vedayati*, *dukkhīyati*. The only middle form is *man[n]ate* (Dhau. X, 1).

2. plur. *pāpunātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class).

3. plur. *huvamīti*, *ichhamīti*, *kalamīti* and *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination ; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. *nikhamāvū* with optative termination ; cf. Johansson, *Shāhb.*, part 2, p. 89, n. 2.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ālabbheham*, *yeham*, *[pa]ṭi[pāday]eham* and *paṭipātayeham* ; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. *uga[chha](chhe)*, *dakh[e]yā* and *da[kheya]*, *uthāy[ā]* (from the indicative **utthāti* = Pāli *utthāti* ; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), *[h]uveyā*, *siyā* and *[siya]* (= Skt. *syāt*). *paṭipajeyā*.

1. plur. *gachhema*, *paṭipādayemā* and *[pa]ṭipātayem[a]*.

3. plur. *chaley[ū]* and *chalevū*, *hveyū*, *huvevu* and *huvevū*, *lahey[ū]* and *lahevu*, *[va]sevu*, *[a]svasevu* and *asvasevu*, *pāpunevu*, *[p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū*, *yu[j]ey[u]*, *yujeyū*, and *yūjevū*, *ālādhayey[ū]* and *ālādhayevū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, *[anu]vatatu*.

2. plur. *dakhatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata*.

3. plur. *[pa]lakamāntu* and *palakama[ni]t[ū]*, *yujamīti*, *ālādhayaṃtū*, *paṭivedayaṃtū*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *a[k]o*.

¹ Cf. the substantive *nijhati* (= **nidhyapti*) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from **nidhyapayati*, as Skt. *ājñāpti* and *vijñāpti* from *jñāpayati* = *jñāpayati*.

² But in *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved.

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ikhami ; 3. plur. [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u].

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. alochayisū ; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. hosami and hosāmī (= Prākṛit hōssāmi), nikhāmayisāmi, likhiyis[āmi*].

3. sing. khamisati, hosati, kachhati,¹ atikāmayisati, ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti, vadhayis[a]ti.

2. plur. esatha and ehatha, chaghatha (from root chak = Skt. śak),² ālādhayisathā and ālā[dha]-yisa[th]ā.

3. plur. nikhamisanti, anuvatisanti, [a]nus[ā]sisam[i]i, yujisanti, kachhaniti, jānisanti, pava-dhayisanti.

V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative āla[m]bhiyanti.³

3. plur. optative yujeyū, y[ū]jeyū, yujevū, y[ū]jev[ū].

3. plur. aorist ālabhiyisu.

3. plur. future āla[bh]iyisanti and āl[am]bhiyisa[m]i[i].

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative susūsatu.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root as : samtām.

Root kri : kalamtām.

Causative of pad : vipaṭipātayamtām and [sam]paṭipā[ta] [yam]tam (Jau. Sep.).

Middle.

Root pad : sa[m]paṭipajam[i]n[e], and causative : [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne (Dhau. Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta : mata, kaṭa (= Skt. kṛita), viyāpaṭa (= vyāpṛita), vithaṭa (= viṣṭṛita), usaṭa (= utsṛita), [n]isita (= *nisṛita), likhūa, likhāpita, khānāpita, hālāpita, ālopita, lopāpita, ānā-

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.

² Cf. sagghasi in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.

³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

p[ay]i[ta],¹ *hūta*, *atikanīta*, *kīlanīta*, *āya[ta]* (i. e. *āyatta*), *sayuta* (= *sanyukta*), *v[u]ta* (= *ukta*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*), *anusatha* (from *anu-śās*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *uvigina* (= *udvigina*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-taviya*: *etaviya*, *sotaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya*, *ichhitaviya* and *[ichhi]taya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *chalitaviya*, *sañchalitaviya* and *°taviya*, *vaṭitaviya*, *viyovadita[viya*]* *paṭivedetaviya*, *ñijhap[e]t a[vi]ya*.

(b) In *-aniya*: *asvāsa[n]iya*.

(c) In *-ya*: *sakiya* and *chakiya*.

VIII. INFINITIVE.

khamitave, *ālādhayitave*, *saṃpaṭipādayitave* and *saṃpaṭipādayit[av]e*.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

kaṭu and *[ka]tū* (= Skt. *kṛitvā*), *anusāsitu*, *ālabbhitu*, *sañchalitu*, *jānitū* (from *jānāti*), *palitijit[u]* (from root *tyaj*), *[ch]i[th]itu* (from **chittḥati*), *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*), *hāpayitu*. In *veditu*, which corresponds to Skt. *vēdayitvā*, the causative character *ay* is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sōpārā** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Gīrnār, the semivowel *r* is not changed to *l*; see *hiranina* (= Skt. *kiranya*, l. 7) and *[ra]ṭi* (l. 9). In the aorist *nikhamiṭha* (l. 5) the lingual is retained, while Kālsī has *nikhamiṭhā* and the pillar-edicts have *huthā* and *vaḍhiṭhā*, with dental *th*.

CHAPTER X

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* is replaced by *i* in the second syllable of *gikitha* (see above, p. lxx), in *majhima* (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in *min[ā]* (Delhi-Mīraṭh) and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?). It becomes *u* in the second syllable of *udupāna* (see above, p. xcix), and after *m* in *muta* (= *mata*), *munisa* (= *manushya*). The change of *a* into *e* in *seyaka* (i. e. *sēyyaka*), which is the reading of three versions instead of *sayaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal *y*.

Skt. *i* is represented by *a* in the first syllable of *kapilikā* (Delhi-Tōprā) = *kipilikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. *pīpilikā*, and by *u* after original *v* in *duṭiya* and *dutiya*, *dupada*, *kinasu* (i. e. *kinassu*) = Skt. *kēnasvit*; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. *e* corresponds to Skt. *i* in *hedisa* (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7).

i corresponds to Skt. *u* in the second syllable of *pulisa* (see above, p. xcix) and of *munisa* (see above, p. lxx). In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

ṛi becomes (1) *a* in *anugahinevu*, *apakaṭha* (= Skt. *apakṛishṭa*), *kaṭa*, *kapana* (= *kṛipana*), *dāna* [*gaḥ*]² (Queen's edict, l. 3), *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **vṛitikā*), *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in

¹ Cf. p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

² Cf. *gahatha* (= Skt. *gṛihastha*) at Kālsī.

gihitha (= *grihastha*), *nisijitu* (from *nisrijati*), *pit[i]su* (= *pitriśhu*), *simala* (= *sṛimara*), *hedisa* (= *īdriśa*); (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c.

i corresponds to Skt. *e* in *ika* (Sāmāth, ll. 6, 7, 8), i. e. **ikka* = Prākṛit *ekka* and Skt. *ēka*. Cf. *Ardhamāgadhī ikkārasa* = Skt. *ēkādaśa*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 443.

ai becomes *e* in *kevaṭa* (= Skt. *kaivarta*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opagāni*, *Kosāmbiyam*, *putā-papotike*, *mokhya*.

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsasi* (Sāmāth) = *anā[vā]sasi* (Kausāmbi and Sāmchī). Final *a* is lengthened frequently; see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *evā*, *yevā*, *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsantam*), *hetā*, *āha* and *āhā* or *ahā*, *vaḍhithā*, *huthā*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, [*sa*] *mnamdhāpayiyā*, *nāma* and *nāmā* (in *nāmā ti*), *mama* and *mamā*, *asvasa* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Devānampiyashā*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāhena* and *usāhenā*, *bhayena* and *bhayenā*, *r[a]chanenā*. Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened; see *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4), *-thitika* and *-thitika* (also *-thitika* and *-thitika*), *tilita* (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; *tilita* in the other versions), *devīye* (Queen's edict, l. 2; *devīye*, id., ll. 4, 5), *pavajitānam*, *lājīhi* (instr. plur. of Skt. *rājan*), *anupaṭipajamtam*, *anupaṭipajamtu* (also *anupaṭi*°), *anupaṭipajisati*, *anupaṭipati* (also *anupaṭi*°), *saṃpaṭipati*, *paṭipati*, *paṭibhoga* (also *paṭi*°), *paṭivisiṭham* (also *paṭi*°), *paṭi[vedayamti]**, *niḥhūliye*, *pachūpagamane* (*pachupa*° Allahabad-Kōsam), *bahūsu* (but *gulusu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *anuvīdhiyamti*, *āvahāmī ti*, *kachhati ti*, *khādiyati ti*, *tī ti* (Delhi-Tōprā, II, l. 16), [*ha*] *ntaviyānī*, *anupaṭipajamti*, *hotū ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *is* and *us* or *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*gu*] *i* and *goti ti*, *lipi* and *lipī*, *bhikhu* and [*bhikh*] *ū*, *Sakyamunī ti*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, *ālādhayevu* and *ālādhayevū ti*, *upadahevu* and *upadahevū ti*, *pavatarevū ti*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *āvahāmī* and *ava*¹ (Delhi-Tōprā) = *āvahāmī* and *āva* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *vā* and *va* (= Skt. *vā*), *apahatā* and *apahata*, *lājā* and *lāja*, *atanā* and *atana*, *lājina*, *Piyadasina*, *anusathiyā* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D), *apekhā* and *apekha*, &c. Also final *ī* is sometimes shortened; see *Piyadasī* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and *Piyadasi*, *duḍi* and *duḷi*, *dhāti* (= Skt. *dhātrī*), *athamī-pakha* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *aṭhamī-pakha*, *chātumīmāsi-pakha*, *devi-kumālānam*, *bhikhuni*, *Lummin-gāme*. Interconsonantal *ī* is shortened in *dutiya* = *dutiya*² (Queen's edict, l. 5), and *ū* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhutānam*, *susūsā* (also *susūsā*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *apī*), *laghamti* (for **alaghamti* = Skt. *arhanti*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *iti*) and *kimti*, *posatha* (for *upavasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *ēva*).

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kālsī, palatal *ñ* and lingual *ṇ* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *aḍha-[kos]ikyāni* and *vaḍikyā*,³ cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *aṭha-bhāgiye* (Rummindei, l. 5), *ata-patiye* (Delhi-Tōprā, IV, ll. 4, 14), *nimsi-[dha]yā* (= Skt. **niślishṭakā*), and perhaps in *gevayā*; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghamti* (for **alaghamti* = Skt. *arhanti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *saṃkujā*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sāṃkuchi*, 'a skate-fish.' It is aspirated in *kichhi* (Queen's edict, l. 4) = *kichhi* at Kālsī, &c.

Lingual *ḍ* may become *ḷ*; see *edake* and *elake*, *edakā* and *elakā*, *duḍi* and *duḷi*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **vrīṭikā*), in which the *ṛ* (for *ṛ*) is softened, and after *ra* in *nigamṭha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *paṭi*, but not in *pachūpagamana* (= *pratyupagamana*), *patyāsanna* and *patiyāsanna* (= *pratyāsanna*). *t* is elided, *a* lengthened,⁴ and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvudāsā* (= Skt. *chaturdaśī*), while *aū* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *ḍ* or *ḷ* in *duvāḍasa* and *duvā[la]-s[a]*, *paṃnaḍasā* and *paṃnaḷasā* (= Skt. *pañchadaśī*). The original *dh* of the root **nadh* (= Skt. *nah*)

¹ Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avam* at Kālsī. Michelson (IF, 23, 236) compares Avestan *yavat* (= Skt. *yāvat*).

² Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prākṛit *dudīa*, &c., from a supposed Skt. form **dviṭiya*.

³ In *ambā-vaḍikyā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 23) = *ambā-vaḍikā* (Queen's edict, l. 3).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.

is preserved in [sa]nnaidhāpayiyā and sanaidhāpayitu.¹ *dh* becomes *h* in *nigoha* (= *nyagrōdha*), *vidahāmi* and *upadahevu* (from *dadhāti*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Girnār) see above, p. lxxii.

p is softened in *thuba* (= *stūpa*, Nigālī Sāgar, I. 2) and *libi*² (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *lipi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kīpilikā* and *kapilikā* = Skt. *pīpilikā*.³ *bh* becomes *h* in [a]hiye, hoti, hotu, huvāti, hosanti, hohanti, huthā, husu, and in the instr. plur. in -hi (for -bhih). *m* becomes *p*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphaṭa* = Skt. *kamaṭha*; cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, and [ta]phā (= Skt. *tasmāt*) at Kālsī.

y is represented by *h* in *abhyuinnāmayeham*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= **āyukti*), *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= **śauchya*), *pāpovā* (= **prāpnō* + *yāt*), *yāvu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *upadahevu*, *pavatayevū*. It is prefixed to *e* in *yeva* and *yevā* (also *eva* and *evā*), but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *āva* (also *yāva*, = Skt. *yāvat*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ena* (also *yena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *nigoha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*), *paṭivekhāmi*, *dupaṭivekhe*, and *ayi* becomes *e* in *jhāpetaviye* (also *jhāpayitaviye*).

r has become *l* throughout, except in *cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke* (Sāmchī, l. 4).

va becomes *u* in *anuvekhamāne*; *vā* becomes the same in the absolutives in -tu (= Skt. *tvā*); *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *odāta*, *olodhana*, *posatha*, *paliyovadātha*, *paliyovadisanti*, *viyovadisanti*, *viyohāla*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *sh* have become *s* throughout. But *sh* is used in *vishava* (= Skt. *vishaya*, Sārṇāth, l. 10), *Devānaṃpiyashā* and *she* (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In *chaghati*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, p. ci.

h is prefixed in *hida*, *hidata*, *hedisa*, *hevam*. For *hetā* (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see *min[ā]* and *mina* (= Skt. *manāk*?), *pāpovā* and *pāpova*, *siyā* and *siya*, *avimanā* and *avimana*, *abhītā* and *abhīta*, &c. (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see *āva* and *āvā* (= *yāvat*), *lipi* and *lipī*, *sādhu* and *sādhū*, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *ite*, *suve* (= *śvas*), *bhuye*, *lājāne*, *viyāpaṭāse*, *jāne*, &c. But it becomes *o* in *vayo-*; *a* in *chamdamā* and *esa* (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel *u* is nasalized in *chum* (Sārṇāth, l. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *bādha* (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), *heva* (= Skt. *ēvam*,⁴ Rāmpurvā, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. *vaḍhi* (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. *anupaṭipatī* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. [dā]nā (Delhi-Miraṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -e; see below, p. cxvi.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see *kiyam* (= Skt. *kiyān*), *Bhagavam* (= *Bhagavān*), the gen. plur. in -am, the loc. sing. fem. *tisāyam*, *tisyam*, *Kosambiyam*, *puṣṇamāsiyam*, and the acc. sing. *maṃ* (= *mām*), *imaṃ* (= *imām*), *taṃ* (= *tām*, pillar-edict VI, B), *ikaṃ* (= *ekām*), *pajam* (= *prajāṃ*), *dukhīyanam*, *chāvudasaṃ*, *paṇṇaḍasaṃ*, *paṭipadaṃ*, *hedisaṃ* (acc. sing. fem., Sārṇāth, l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Miraṭh, V, l. 6), and the long *ā* is shortened at the same time in *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh, II, l. 1).

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24), and final *m* in *etam-eva* (id., l. 23; Sārṇāth, ll. 8, 9), *kayānam-eva* (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1), *hedisaṃ-eva* (Sārṇāth, l. 7). The final *m* is doubled in *iyaṃmana* (= Skt. *idam anyat*), *kayānaṃmeva*, *hevaṃmeva*. In *hemeva*, *hemevā*, *heṃmeva*, the syllable *va* of Skt. *ēvam* is dropped.

Hiatus remains in -*vasa-abhisita* at Delhi-Tōprā (six times),⁵ while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31) read -*vasābhisita*. Other instances of *a + ā = ā* are *dhanimānupaṭipatī*,

¹ Cf. *pilandhati* &c. in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 34.

² This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

³ Cf. Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, § 29, section 1.

⁴ Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxxvi, l. 6 from bottom. ⁵ Also at Delhi-Miraṭh, V, l. 14.

dhammānusathi, *dhammāpadāna*, *dhammāpekkhā*, *apāsinave*. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *saṅghaṭṭasi* and *-apadānaṭṭhāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *am* of *tuphākam* and *upāsakānam* is treated in the same manner before *amtikam* in *tuphāk-amtikam* and *upāsakān-amtikam* (Sārnāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *ikike* (= Skt. *īkaikaḥ*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ch-cva*, and *chhāy-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* of the next following word.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *khy*, *ty*, *dhy*, *dhr*, *bhy*, *rshy* (which becomes *sy*), *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), *anusathi* (= *anusāsti*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), *kinasu* (for **kinā + ssu* = Skt. *svīd*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *maga* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamunī*, *isyā* (= *īrshyā*), *-sulyika*¹ (for **sūryika*), *dusa* (= *dūshya*), *puṇnamāsiyam*. But the length remains in *ānapayati*, *pāpovā* (from *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta* (for *°mātra*), *palikkhā* (for *parikkhā*). While long *ī* is preserved before *n* in *-gāmīni* and *bhi[khun]īnam*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tiṇi* (= *trīṇi*). Similarly, *anusathini* and *devinam* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathinini* and *devinnam*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvīdhīyamti*, *sukhīyanā*, *kapilikā*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvīdhīyamti*, *sukhīyanā*, *bhuyē*, *kīpilikā*; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *dākhinā* (also *dakhinā*, i. e. *dakkhinā*), *putāpapotike*² (for *putrapra°*), *puṇāvasune* (for *punarva°*), *kīchhi* (for **kid + chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nīlakhiyati* (for *nirla°*), *nīlakhitaviye* (also *nīla°* at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), *vaḍhīsati* (also *vaḍhisati*, i. e. *vaḍḍhissati*), *saṃpāṭipajīsati* (also *°jisati*), *anupāṭipajīsati*, *anūp[a]ṭipamne* (for *anuprati°*).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *āmbā-* (= Skt. *āmra*), *atikanītam*, *Kosambīyam* (= *Kausāmbīyam*), *Devānampiya*,³ while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bābhana* (= *bāmhāṇa* at Gīrnār). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thabha* (Rummindēi, l. 3) = *thambha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *sayame* and *savibhāge* (also *saṃyame* and *saṃvibhāge*), in *vihīsāye* (but not in *avihīsāye*), and in *satavisati*. The nasal vowel *im* is replaced by a length in *vīsati*, *paṇṇa-vīsati*, and *saḍvīsati*. Similarly, *am* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*). In *visvaṃsayitave* (Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *am* corresponds to Skt. *ā*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duvehi*, *duvāḍasa*, *saḍvīsati*, *suve*; *a* in *duṣaṇpāṭipādaye*, *laghamti* (for **alaghamti*), *sochaye* and *sochave*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *p*, *b*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

khk becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukhīyanam*.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, *yuta*, *vataviya*, *viyata*.

ky remains in *Sakyamunī* (Rummindēi, l. 2).

ksh becomes *jh* in *jhāpayitaviye*,⁴ but *kh* everywhere else.

kshy becomes *khiy* in *nīlakhiyati*; *kh* in *dupāṭivekke* and *bh[ā]khati*; *gh* in *chaghati*.

khy is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

¹ This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u*: **suryika*; cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadhā dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛiddhi of the first syllable; see *putāpapotika* and *hidatika*, but *ānugahika*. In *amṭalika*, *aḍha[kos]ika*, *chamīdamasulyika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chamīdiya*, which was formed from Skt. *chanda* with the affix *-ya*. In *nīthūliya* and *puṇnamāsiyam* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *naishṭhurya* and *paurṇamāsiyam*, with Vṛiddhi of the first vowel.

² The Sārnāth pillar (section C) has *putāpapotike*.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna[pi]yena* (Rummindēi, l. 1).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

chy becomes *chay* or *chav* in *sochaye* and *sochave*.¹

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājina*; *ñn* in *chhamindamināni* and *vinñapayitaviye*; *n* in *ānapayati*, *ānapita*, *nātikā*, *hātisu*.

ñch becomes *ñn* in *pañnavīsati*, *pañnaḍasā* and *pañnaḷasā*, but remains in [*pa*]*nicha*[*dasā*] (Allahabad-Kōsam).

ḍy becomes *ḍiy* in *chamḍiye*.

ḍv becomes *ḍuv* in *saḍuvīsati*.

ṇm becomes *ñm* in *āsañmāsike*.

tk becomes *k* in *ukasā*.

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty remains in *patyāsana*, but becomes *tiy* in *patiyāsana* (Delhi-Tōprā), and *ch* in *āgācha*, *pachupagamane*, *sache*.

tśr becomes *s* in *usapāpile*.

ts becomes *s* in *usāha*.

tsy becomes *chh* in *machhe*.

ḍb becomes *b* in *ubalike*.

dy becomes *j* in *anupaṭipajamtu*, &c.; *ḍiy* in *khāḍiyati*; *day* in *dusanṇapaṭipādaye*.

dr becomes *d* in *chamḍama*.

dv becomes *d* in *dupada*, *duṭṭiya* and *dutiya*, but *duv* in *duvehi*, *duvāḍasa*.

dhy remains in *avadhya*, but becomes *dhiy* in *avadhiya*, and *jh* in *majhimā*, *nijhatiyā*, *nijhapayitave*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayisanti*.

dhr remains in *dh[r]uvāye* (Delhi-Mīraṭh), but becomes *dh* in *dhuvāye* and *vadhi* (pillar-edict V, D).

ny becomes *ñn* or *n* in *añna* (passim) and *ana* (pillar-edict III, H).

pt becomes *t* in [*gut*]*t*, *gotī* (= Skt. **gōptī*), *nikhitā*, *nijhatiyā*, *pata* (= *prāpta*), *sata* (= *saṇṭa*), Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).

pn becomes *p* in *pāpovā*.

bhy remains in *abhyuññāmayehaṇ* and *abhyuññamisati*, but becomes *hiy* in [*a*]*hiye*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *palibhasayisaṇ*.

mb becomes *mm* in *Lummini-* (Rummindēi, l. 4).

mr becomes *mb* (for *mbr*) in *aṁbā-* (= Skt. *āmra*).

yy becomes *yy* in *āvāsaiye* and [*sa*]*ñnanindhāpayiyā*.

rg becomes *g* in *agesu* and *visaga*.

rgr becomes *g* in *nigamṇthesu*.

rgh becomes *lagh* in *laghamti* (for **alaghamti*).

ṛṇ becomes *ñn* in *pañna* (pillar-edict V, B) and *puñnamāsiyaṇ*.

rt becomes *t* in *pavatayevū*, but *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *kevaṭa*, *palihāṭave*, *apahaṭā*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim).

rd becomes *d* in *chakhudāne*, *chodasa*, *chāvudasā*, *madave*.

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *vaḍhati*, *vaḍheyā*, *vaḍhithā*, *vaḍhisati*, *vaḍhita*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhinī*.

rm becomes *mm* in *kaṁmāni*, *chātumṁsā*, *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Lauriyā-Ararāj, II, l. 3).

ry becomes *liy* in *niṭṭhūliye*, *paliyovadātha* and *paliyovadisanti*, *-suliye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but *riy* in [*sū*]*ri*[*yī*]*ke* (Sārnchī, l. 4).

rl becomes *l* in *nīlakhiyati* and *nīlakhitaviye*.

rv becomes *v* in *puṇāvasune* and *sava*.

rs becomes *s* in *Piyadasi*.

rsh becomes *s* in *ukasā* and *vasa*.

rshy becomes *sy* in *isyā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa* (pillar-edict II, C).

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*, *sayaka* and *seyaka* (= Skt. *śalyaka*).

¹ Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23.241) identifies with Pāli *socheyya* (= Skt. **śauchēya*).

vy becomes *viy* in *viyaṁjanena*, *viyata*, *viyāpaṭa*, *viyovadisamti*, *viyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-taviya*.

vr becomes *v* in *pavaṣṭānam*.

śy becomes *s* in *palibhasayisam* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhraśyati*).

śl becomes *nis* in *nimsi[dha]yā* (= Skt. **niślishṭakā*) ; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

śv becomes *sv* in *asva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *visvaṁsayitave* (infinitive of *viśvāsayati*) ; *suv* in *suve* (= *śvaḥ*) ; *s* in *seta*.

sth becomes *th* in *vaḍhithā* and *huthā* ; *ṭh* in *aṭha-bhāgiye*, *aṭhami*, *apakaṭhesu*, *tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni*, *paṭivisiṭham* ; *ḍh* in *aḍhṛ[kos]ikyāni* and *nimsi[dha]yā*.

sth becomes *ṭh* in *nīṭhūliye*.

shp becomes *p* in *chatupada*.

shpr becomes *p* in *dupaṭivekhe*.

shy becomes *sy* in *tisyaṁ* ; *siy* in *tisiyaṁ* ; *s* in *tisāyaṁ* and *tisāye*, *dusāni*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*), *munisa* (= *manushya*), *hosamti* and other futures ; *h* in *hohamti*.

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *anusathi*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *thambhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *paṭitha-lisamti*.

sth becomes *th* in *gihitha* (= Skt. *grihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika* ;¹ *ṭh* in *anaṭhika* and *-ṭhitika* or *-ṭhitika*.²

sn becomes *sin* in *āsinava* (from *ā-snu*).

sm becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*) ; *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa* ; *h* in *dāhamti*.

hn becomes *hin* in *anugahinevu*.

hm becomes *bh* in *bābhana*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *jane*, &c. ; neut. *dāne*, &c.
Acc. masc. *janam*, &c. ; neut. *dānam*, &c.
Instr. *dhammena*, &c.
Dat. *aṭhāye*, &c.
Gen. *janasa*, &c.
Loc. *janasi*, &c.

Plural.

Masc. *pulisā*, &c. } neut. *sāvanāni*, &c.
Masc. *pulisāni* }
ākālehi, *pulimehi*.³

pānānam, &c.
aṭhesu, &c.

Nom. sing. neut.—In *[dā]nā* (Delhi-Mīrath, II, l. 2) the termination is *-ā*.

Instr. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *usāhenā*, *bhayenā*, *v[ā]chanenā*.

Gen. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *asvasā*, *gonasā*, *jānapadasā*, *Devānaṁpiyashā*, *lokasā*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta*, *asvatha*, *āyata*, *kaṭa*, *pūjita*, *mahām[ā]ta* (Kauśāmbī edict, l. 1), *lajūka*. The Vedic termination *-āsaḥ* is preserved in *viyāpaṭāse* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final *i* is lengthened in *[ha]ntaviyāni* (Delhi-Mīrath, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter : *thambhāni*, *nikāyāni*, *nigohāni*, *niyamāni*, *mokhāni*, *tiṁni divasāni* and *etāni divasāni* (acc.).

¹ With the compound *chilam-thitika* or *chilam-thitika* cf. Skt. *chiramjivin* and *chirantana*.

² In *chila-thitike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and *chila-thitikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

³ From *pulima* = Pāli *purima*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.	<i>vaḍikyā</i> , &c.
Acc. <i>pajām</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pūjāyā</i> and <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>vihiṣāye</i> , <i>avihiṁsāye</i> .	
Abl. <i>dakḥināye</i> , <i>dākḥināye</i> .	
Gen. <i>duṭiyāye</i> , <i>duṭiyāye</i> .	
Loc. <i>tisāyaṁ</i> , <i>tisāye</i> , <i>chāvudāsāye</i> , <i>paṁnaḍāsāye</i> , <i>paṭipadāy</i> [e]. ¹	<i>disāsu</i> .

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilika*, *kālāpita*, *jatūka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍhita*, *viyata*, *sālika*, *sukhīyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in *p[a]ṭipadā* (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in *agāyā*, *anulupāyā*, -kāmātāyā, *palikhāyā*, *vividhāyā*, *sukhāyanāyā*, *susūsāyā*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Gīrnār, Dhāuli, and Jaugaḍa, in *agāya*, -kāmātāya, *palikhāya*, *vividhāya*, *susūsāya*.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. masc. *vidhi*, *Sakyamunī*; acc. plur. neut. *tiṁni*; loc. plur. *nāṭisu*.

The feminine base *anusathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anusathini* with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>vaḍhi</i> , <i>dhāti</i> , &c.	
Acc. <i>lipīm</i> , <i>vaḍhi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B), <i>anupaṭipati</i> .	
Instr. <i>vaḍhiyā</i> , <i>anupaṭipatiyā</i> , &c.	
Dat. <i>anupaṭipatiye</i> , <i>dhātiye</i> , <i>deviye</i> .	
Gen. <i>Kāluvākiye</i> , <i>deviye</i> and <i>deviye</i> .	<i>bhi[khun]īnaṁ</i> , <i>devinaṁ</i> .
Loc. <i>tisyaṁ</i> , <i>tisiyaṁ</i> , <i>Kosaṁbiyaṁ</i> , <i>puṁnamāsiyaṁ</i> , <i>chātumṁāsiye</i> .	<i>chātumṁāsisu</i> , <i>tīsu</i> . ²

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhinī*, *sūkālī*, *duḍī* (also *duḍī*), *lipī* (also *lipī*).

Instr. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anusathiya* (also *anusathiyā*).

III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>bhikku</i> and <i>[bhikk]ū</i> , <i>sādhū</i> and <i>sādhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> ; neut. <i>bahu</i> .	Neut. <i>bahūni</i> .
Gen.	<i>[bhi*]khūna[m]</i> .
Loc. <i>puṇāvasune</i> , <i>bahune</i> .	<i>gulusu</i> , <i>bahūsu</i> .

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ri.

Nom. sing. *apahaṭā* and *apahaṭa*, *nijhapayitā*.
Gen. sing. *mātu*.
Loc. plur. *pitīsu*.

¹ As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *pratipad* has assumed the form *paṭipadā*. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.
² In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tisṛishu*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṁtaṁ*, *anupaṭipajamtaṁ* ; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *kiyaṁ* and *kiya* (Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh), *Bhagavaṁ*. The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension : nom. sing. masc. *āvate* (Sārnāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> .	<i>lājāne</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	<i>kaṁmāni</i> .
Instr. <i>atanā</i> , <i>atana</i> , <i>lājina</i> .	<i>lājiki</i> .

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in *-in*.

Nom. sing. masc. *Piyadasī* ; instr. sing. *Piyadasina* ; nom. plur. neut. *-gūmīni*.

The final *ī* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read *Piyadasī*.

(5) Masculines and neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. neut. *bhuye*.

The masculine *chāndama-* (= Skt. *chandramas*) and the neuter *vayo-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *avimanas* follows the *a*-declension : nom. plur. masc. *avimanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *avimana*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*.

Acc. sing. *man*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā* and *mamiyā*, *mama* and *mamā*, *me*.

Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. *tuphe* ; gen. plur. *tuphākam*.

(3) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>se</i> . ¹	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>taṁ</i> , <i>se</i> .	Neut. <i>tāni</i> .
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Gen. *	<i>tesam</i> , <i>tānam</i> .
Loc.	<i>teṣu</i> .

Acc. sing. fem. *taṁ*.

Dat. sing. fem. *tāye*.

(4) Base *na*.

Nom. plur. neut. *nāni* ; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

¹ Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.

(5) Base *eta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> ; neut. <i>esa</i> , <i>esā</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>etāni</i> .	Neut. <i>etāni</i> .
Instr. <i>etena</i> .	
Dat. <i>etāye</i> .	
Loc.	<i>etesu</i> .

Nom. sing. fem. *esa*.(6) Demonstrative *idam*.Nom. sing. neut. *iyaṃ* ; nom. plur. masc. *ime*, neut. *imāni* ; nom. sing. fem. *iyāṃ*, acc. *imāni*.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kiṃ* (in *kiṃti*), *kiṃaṃ* or *kiṃmaṃ* (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental **kinā*¹ (in *kinasu*, i.e. **kinassu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēnasvit*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. *kāni* (in *potake cha kāni* ; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pi* (= Skt. *api*) or *chi* (= Skt. *chād*) : instr. sing. *kenapi* ; nom. plur. neut. [*k*]*ānichi*.

(8) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ye</i> , <i>e</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Instr. <i>yena</i> , <i>ena</i> .	
Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā</i> .	

(9) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṃne</i> ; neut. [<i>a</i>] <i>ṃne</i> , <i>ana</i> .	Masc. <i>aṃne</i> ; neut. <i>aṃnāni</i> .
Gen.	<i>aṃnānaṃ</i> .
Loc.	<i>aṃnesu</i> .

The gen. plur. *aṃnānaṃ* follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvi) ; cf. *tānaṃ* for *tesaṃ* (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), *ta[nam]* at Mānsehrā, and the dat. sing. fem. *tāye* (above, p. cxviii), *imāya* and *imā[y]e* at Gīrnār, Kālsī, and Dhāuli, *imaye* at Mānsehrā.

(10) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>sarve</i> .	
Loc. <i>sarasi</i> .	<i>sarvesu</i> .

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ikike* (= Skt. *ekaikaḥ*), fem. *ikā* ; acc. sing. fem. *ikam*.

Two.

Instr. masc. *duvehi* (from the base *dva*). The base *dvi* appears as *du* in the ordinal *dutiya* or *dutiya*, and in the compound *dupada*.

¹ Cf. *kinā*, Hēmachandra, III, 69, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 428.

Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. *tinini*; loc. fem. *tisu*. The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chatupāda* and *āśaṁmāsika*.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

duvāḍasa and *duvā[ḷa]s[a]*; *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvudāsā* and [*pa*]*nicha[ḍasā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam), *paṁnaḍasā*, *paṁnaḷasā* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśī* and *pañchadaśī*.

Twenty, &c.

vīsati, *paṁnavīsati*, *saḍvīsati*, *satavisati*.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. *sata-sahasasu*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root **argh* (= Skt. *arh*): *laghanti* for **alaghanti*; cf. Skt. *argha* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root *iksh*: *pativekhāmi*, *anuvekhamāne*.

Root *dṛis*: *dekhati*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvāti* (sixth class).

Root *vad*: *paliyovadātha*.

Root *vah*: *āvahāmi*.

Root *vridh*: *vaḍhati*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i*: *eti*.

Root *yā*: *yāti*.

Root *śās*: *anus[ā]sāmi* (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dhā*: *vidahāmi*, *upadahevu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *anupaṭipajanti*, &c.

Root *push*. The gerundive *pusitaviya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushyati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp*: *pāpovā*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*. The aorist *ichhisu* and the gerundive *ichhitaviye* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ichchhati*.

Root *kship*: *nikhipātha*.

Root *srij*: absolutive *nisijitu* (from the Sanskrit present *nisrijati*).

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *grah* follows the *a*-conjugation : *anugahinevu*.

Root *jñā*. The future *jānisaṃti* and the infinitive *ājānitave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *abhyuññāmayehaṃ*, *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti*, *pāyamīnā* (from *pāyati* = *pāyati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *pivati*), *palibhasayisāhi* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt. *bhraśyati*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263) *ālādhayeṃ*, *āvāsayaṃ*, *vivāsayaṃ*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*, *pavataṃ*, *visvaṃsayitave*.

(b) With *paya* : *jhāpayitaviṃ* and *jhāpetaviṃ* (from root *kshai*). The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhya* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *viññāpayitaviṃ*, *saṃādayitave*, *nijhāpayisaṃti*, *nijhāpayitā*, *nijhāpayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya* : *kālāpita*, *[sa]ññānādhāpayiyā* and *saññādhāpayitu* (from root **nadh* = Skt. *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sā]petaviṃ*, *vivāsāpayātha*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*, *usapāpita*; cf. Ardhamāgadhi *ūsaviya* (= **uchchhrapita*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64, and Skt. *uchchhrāpayati*. Similar forms are *viññāpāpeti* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *ṭhapāpeti* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *davāvei* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 552.

(e) With *āpāpaya* : *khānāpāpitāni*, *likhāpāpitā*.

(f) Denominatives : *tilita* and *tilita* (from Skt. *tīrayati*), *sukhayite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukhiyanā*, *dukkhiyanā*, *mahiṃ*.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *paṭivekkhāmi*, *vidahāmi*.

3. sing. *dekkhati*, *hoti*, *vaḍhati*, *athi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*.

3. plur. *laghānti*, *dekkhānti*, *saṃpaṭipādayaṃti*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvaḥāmi*, *anus[ā]sāmi*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6).

2. plur. *nikkhipātha*, *paliyovadātha*, *vivāsayaṃ*, *vivāsāpayātha*.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *abhyuññāmayehaṃ*; cf. above, pp. lxxxii, cix.

3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anu[pa]ṭipajeyā*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *prāpū-*), *vaḍheyā*.

3. plur. *yāvu*, *upadalēvu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayeṃ*, *pavataṃ*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*; 3. plur. *anupaṭipajāntu*.

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle : *huthā*, *vaḍhithā*.

3. plur. active : *husu*, *ichhisu*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palibhasayisam*. Cf. *likhāpayisam* at Girnār.

3. sing. *abhyūnnamisati*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisati*, *anupaṭipajisati* (from the present **pajjati* = Skt. *padyatē*), *saṃpaṭipajisati* and **pajisati*, *chaghati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅksyati*), *kachhati* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).

3. plur. *paṭichalisamti*, *vaḍhisamti*, *hosamti* and *hohamti*, *palivovadisamti*, *viyovadisamti*, *pavithalisamti* (from root *strī*), *dāhamti*, *chaghamti*, *kachhamti*, *jānisamti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nijhapayisamti*.

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nīlakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).

3. plur. indicative *anuvīdhīyamti* and **dhiyamti*.

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: *saṃtam*, *anupaṭipajamtam*.

Middle: *anuvekhamāne*, *pāyamīnā*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kaṭa*, *viyāpata*, *tilita* and *tilita*, *mahīyita*, *sukhayita*,¹ *ānapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikamta*, *āyata* (i. e. *āyatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i. e. *baddha*), *niludha* (= *niruddha*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *apakāṭha* (= *apakṛishṭa*), *asvatha* (= *āśvasta*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *anūp[a]ṭipamna*, *patyāsamna* and *patiyāsamna*, *dimna* (for **didna*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *hamtaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vataviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *vinnapayitaviya*, *jhāpayitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshaṭi*), *vā[sā]petaviya*. In *nīlakhitaviya* (= **nīrlakshayitavya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.

(b) In *-ya*: *dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l[a]hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhya* and *avadhiya*, *dupaṭivekha*, *dusampaṭipādya*, *āvāsaya* (for **āvāsaya*).²

VII. INFINITIVE.

bhetave (from root *bhid*), *palihatave*, *paṭichalitave*, *ājānitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *visvamsayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayitave*.

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

(a) In *-tvā*: *sutu* (= Skt. *śrutvā*), *nisijitu* (from the present *nisrijati*), *sanamdhāpayitu*.

(b) In *-ya*: *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *[sa]mnamdhāpayiā*.³

¹ In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayite* at Kālsī, *[ānapayit]e* at Mānsehrā, and *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* at Dhauli.

² The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsya*; cf. the preceding note.

³ Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugada rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vaḍhisiti* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vaḍhisati* (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Saurasēnī *bhavissidi*, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *hetā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prākṛit and Pāli *gārava*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*; see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

ṛi becomes (1) *a* in *kaṭā*, *dakhitaviye*, *vaḍhi*; (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mṛishā*), *sun[e]yu*; (3) *i* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *dṛīsyatē*). In *aḍhati[y]a* (= Pāli *aḍḍhatiya* and Skt. *ardhatṛitīya*) the syllable *ṭṛi* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhi *aḍḍhāijja*; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli *aḍḍhuddha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *-[a]thāta* (?) and *chila-thitike*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *āhā*, [*likhāpa*] *yāthā*, *h[a]mā*, *etenī(nā)*, *apaladhiyenā*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *saṁghasī ti*, *hosatī ti*, *jānamtū ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal *ī* and *ū* in *misikhūtā* (Maski), *Jambudīpasi* (= *°dīpasi* at Sahasrām), *pa[ka]mam[i]menā* (cf. *palakamamīnenā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavīsati* (Barābar); final *ā* and *ī* in *lāja* (Barābar) = *lājā* (Calcutta-Bairāt), *sata* (Rūpnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) = *Piyadasī* (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *sumi* (for **smi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (= *itī*), *kiṁti* and *kiti*, *dāni* (= *idānīm*), *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigichya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *y* in *diyadhiya* (= **dvikārdhya*).¹ *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāhula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kuḥhā* (Barābar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kuḥhā* may be related to *kumbha*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κύμβη*, 'a (hollow) boat'.²

Lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in *Aliya-vasāṇi* (= Skt. *Ārya-vaṁśāṇi*).

¹ Cf. *diyadha* and *diadha*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

² The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancien Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaofa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *uḍāla* (= Pāli *uḷāra* and Skt. *uḍāra*), *duvāḍasa*, and after *ṛi* in *kaṭā*, *vaḍhi*. *t* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*). *dh* seems to be preserved in *ha(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Gīrnār?), but has become *h* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of **prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpnōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosatī*, *husu*, *devehi*, [*ājīvi*]*kehi*.

y is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aṃ* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in [*nigoha*] (= *nyagrōdha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpeta*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *ārodheve* (read *ārādheta*) and [*ā*]*lādheta*[*v*]*e*, *abhivāde*[*tū*]*nam*.

As in the Māgadha dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *ārodheve* (read *ārādheta*), *chira-ṭhitike*, *chha(sa)vachhare*, *sāti[ra]kekāni* (read *sātirekāni*), and at Maski in *pure*, [*sā*]*ire*[*ke*].

v becomes *p* in *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth) = *aval*[*a*]*dhiyenā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām) = *vy*[*u*]*tha* (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovāde*, *hotu*, *hosatī*.

ś and *sh* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *Śake* (= Skt. *Śākyak*) and is improperly used at Bairāt in *svage* (= *svage* at Rūpnāth); *sh* is preserved at Maski in *vashā[ni]*. In [*cha*]*k**ye* and *chakiye*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

h is prefixed in *ha(hi)dha* (?), *hetā*, *hevaṃ*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *saṃta* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.). *as* becomes *e*; see *pure*¹ (= Skt. *puras*), *ve* (= *vas*), *bhikhuniye* (nom. plur.), *aṭhe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in *-[a]thāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *vāḷata* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *chaṃ* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in *ima*, *iya*, *tupaka* (for *tuphākam*), *diyāḍhiya* (Rūpnāth), *prakāsa*, [*bā*]*dha*, *vaḍhi* (acc.), *vipula*, *sagh[a]* (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see *phale*, &c. The termination *-aṃ* is replaced by *-i* in *bāḍhi* (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. *ayi* for *ayaṃ* at Shāhbāzgarhī.² The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened in the termination (*-aṃ*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *īm* becomes *i* in *dāni* (= Skt. *idānīm*).

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaṃmevā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *-vasābhisita*, *sātileke*, *sādhī*[*ke*], *ap*[*ā*]*bādhatam*, *ja*[*lagh*]*o*[*sāgama*] (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *-[āgama]thāta* (?), *apaladhiyenā* and *aval*[*a*]*dhiyenā*, *diyāḍhiyam*, but the length is preserved in *diyāḍhiyam* (Sahasrām). Final *ā* is elided before *u*, *e*, *o* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavīsati*, *ma*[*ha*]*tanveva*, *Lāghul-ovāde*.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *pr*, *rv*, *vy*, *sv*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*), *pa*[*la*]*kamāntu* (= *parākra*^o), *palakamamīnenā*, [*palaka*]*m*[*t*]*e*, *mahata*- (= *mahātman*), *Śake* and [*sa*]*k*[*e*] (= *Śākyak*), *abhikkhinam* (= *abhikkhṇam*). But the length remains in *p*[*a*]*l*[*ā*]*kame* (Sahasrām), *p*[*ā*]*potave* (from *prāpnōti*), *lāti* (= *rātri*), *sūte* (= *sūtram*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *v*[*ā*]*tave* (infinitive of *vach*).

The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened before consonants in [*palaka*]*m*[*t*]*e*³ and *Devānāṃpiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāṃpiya* (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In *bhaṃte*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddaṃte*⁴ = Skt. *bhadraṃ tē*, 'happiness to you', the syllable *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *iṃ* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*; see the infinitive *adhigatave* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *aṃtā* (Sahasrām and

¹ The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhi and Pāli. Cf. also [*p*]*ule* at Kālsi, I, l. 3.

² Also Pāli *saddhīm* = Skt. *sārdham*, &c.; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 22.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakate* (= Skt. *prakrāntaḥ*).

⁴ See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bhadanto*. According to Hēmachandra, IV, 287, *bhaṃte* is the Māgadhi voc. sing. of *bhadanta*.

Bairāt), *ṭh[abh]e* (but *ṭha[m]bhasi* and *ṭham[ḥh]ā*), *pakamatu* (3. plur.), [*pala*]kamatu (Bairāt) = *pa[la]kamanitu* (Sahasrām), *vayajanenā* (= Skt. *vyājanēna*), *Aliya-vasāni* (= *Ārya-vaiśāṇi*), *saghe* (= *saṅghaḥ*), *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhale* (= *saṁvatsarah*). The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in [*m*]isaṁ-deva and *amimisaiṁ-[de]vā* (read *ami^o*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*, *s[u]ag[ē]*, *sumi*; *a* in *alahāmi*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *vayajanenā*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky remains in [*cha*]kye (Bairāt), but becomes *kīy* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sake* (= Skt. *śakyah*), *Śake* and [*Sa*]k[ē] (= *Śākyah*).

kr becomes *k* in *pakamasi*, *pa[la]kamanitu*, &c.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhuniye*, *dakhitaviye*.¹

kshṇ becomes *khin* in *abhikhinam*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr becomes *g* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājinā*.

ñch becomes *ṁm* in *sapaṁnā* = Skt. *śatpāñchāśat*; cf. *paṁnaḍasā*, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

ṭp becomes *p* in *sapaṁnā*.

tk becomes *k* in *samukase*.

tm becomes *t* in *mahata*- (= Skt. *mahātman*).

ty becomes *chy* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*).

tr becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sūte*, *hetā*.

tv becomes *t* in *mahatatā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*).

ts becomes *chh* in *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhal*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in [*uṭhānam*].²

dr becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dak]e*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*; *d* in *Ṭambudīpasi*, *diyadhiyaṁ*.

pn becomes *p* in *p[ā]potave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhipretam*, *prasāde*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes *p* in *Piyadasī*, &c., and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *prāsu* (?); see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 62, 1.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*, and perhaps *th* in *[-a]thāta* (?).

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *adhati[y]āni*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā*; *dhiy* in *diyadhiyaṁ*.

rm becomes *ṁm* in *dhamma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

ry becomes *liy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *paliyāya*.

rv remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pavata* and *pavatis[u]*.

rś becomes *s* in *Piyadasī*.

rsh becomes *sh* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2); *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*.

rh becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

lp becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhatam*.

vy remains in *vy[u]thenā*, but becomes *vīy* in *dakhitaviye*, *vataviyā*, *vīvasetavā(vi)[ya]*, and *vay* in *lā(li)khāpetavaya* and *vayajanenā*.

śn becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *praśnah*).

śy becomes *s* in the optative passive *diseyā*.

śr becomes *s* in *misa* and *sāvane*.

shṭ becomes *ṭh* in *vy[u]ṭha* (Rūpnāth); *th* in *vīvutha* (Sahasrām).

shm becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākam*, as at Sārnāth).

shy becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *munisā*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*, *hosatī*.

st becomes *th* in *athi* and *ṭham[ḥh]a* (Sahasrām); *ṭh* in *ṭha[m]bha* (Rūpnāth).

sth becomes *ṭh* in *chira-ṭhiti* and *chila-ṭhiti*.

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

² Cf. above, p. ciii.

sm becomes *sum* in *sumi* (= Skt. *asmi*); *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svage* (spelt *śvage* at Bairāt), but becomes *su* in *s[u]ag[e]* (Sahasrām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>devā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>bhayāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>saṅghaṁ</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vipulaṁ</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Instr. <i>Budhena</i> , &c.	[<i>ājīvi</i>] <i>kehi</i> .
Dat. <i>kālāya</i> , <i>aṭhāya</i> , <i>aṭh[ā]ye</i> .	
Abl. <i>mahatātā</i> .	
Gen. <i>Asok[a]sa</i> , <i>Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>Budhasi</i> , &c.	<i>pavatesu</i> .

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(h)khāpetavaya*, *vivasetavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *sagh[a]* (for *saṅghaṁ*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyenā*, *aval[a]dhiyenā*, *-abhisitenā*, *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā*, *palakamamīnenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy[u]thenā*.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e*: *su[p]i[ī]y[e]*.

The final *ā* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *paryāya*, *vaṁśa*, *saṁvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *paliyāyāni*, *vaśāni*, [*savachhalāni*], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vivuthā*; at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *kubhā*, *dinā*; acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādhatam*, *phāsu-vihālatam*; nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

(3) Feminines in *-ī* and *-ī*.

Acc. sing. *vaḍhi*; nom. plur. *bhikkhuniye*; loc. plur. *pavatis[u]*.¹

(4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalamtam*; instr. sing. *bhagavatā*; nom. plur. *saṁta* (for either *saṁtā* or *saṁte*).

(5) Masculines in *-an*.

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*; instr. sing. *lājinā*, *ma[ha]tan[ā]*.

(6) Masculine in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]*; instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakaṁ*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā*, *hamiyāye*, [*me*].

Gen. sing. *h[a]mā*, *me*.

¹ The feminine *parvati* (= *parvata*) occurs in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*; see Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s. v.

The genitive *h[a]mā* is a compromise between the usual form *mama* or *mamā* and the nom. **ham* (for Skt. *aham*). With the instr. *hamiyāye* cf. *mamiyāye* at Jaugaḍa.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. *ve* (= Skt. *vah*), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. *tupaka* (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for *tuphākam* (Sārṇāth).

(3) Base *ta*.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *se*; acc. sing. neut. *ta[m̐]*, *se*; nom. plur. masc. *te*.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*, *esā*, *e[s]e*; instr. sing. [*etena*], *eteni(nā)*, *etinā*; dat. sing. *etāye*, *etiya*; acc. plur. neut. *etāni*.

With the forms *etinā* and *etiya* at Rūpnāth cf. the gen. sing. *etisa* in the two Kharōshthi versions of the rock-edicts, and *etishā* at Kālsī.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iya[m̐]</i> , <i>iya</i> ; neut. <i>iyam̐</i> .	Neut. <i>imāni</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>ima</i> ; neut. <i>imam̐</i> .	
Dat. [<i>i</i>]māyā.	

Nom. sing. fem. *iyam̐*.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *ki* forms part of the conjunction *kiṇṭi* or *kiti*, and the base *ka* of the indefinite *kechi* (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. *e*; acc. sing. neut. *ya*, *aṃ*; nom. plur. masc. *yā*, which follows the analogy of the nouns in *-a*, and [*ye*].

(8) Base *sarva*.

Nom. sing. neut. *sarve*

D.—NUMERALS

Two : nom. neut. *duve*.

Twelve : *duvāḍasa*.

Nineteen : *ekunavisati*.

Fifty-six : *sapaṃnā*. For *pannā* = Skt. *pañchāśat*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 445

Hundred : *satā* and *sata* (nom. plur.).

E.—CONJUGATION

(I) PRESENT.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *alahāmi*, *sumi*, *ichhāmi*, *likhā[pa]yāmi*.

3. sing. *athi*.

(b) Subjunctive.

2. plur. [*likhāpa*]yāthā.

(c) Optative.

3. sing. *adhigachh[e]yā, siyā, diseyā* (passive).
 3. plur. *sun[e]yu* (= *shune[y]u* at Kālsī), *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*.
 2. plur. *lekhāpeta, [likhāpayatha]*.
 3. plur. *pakamatu* (for °*mamtu*), *palakamamtu, jānamtu*.

(2) AORIST: 3. plur. *husu*.(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. *āhā*.

(4) FUTURE.

3. sing. *hosatī, vadhisati* and *vadhisiti*.

(5) PARTICIPLES.

(a) Present Participle.

Active: *kalamtam, samta* (nom. plur.).
 Middle: *pa[ka]mam[i]na, palakamamīna*.

(b) Past passive participle.

In -*ta*: *kaṭa, pakata* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vy[u]ṭha* and *vivutha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
 In -*na*: *dina* (i. e. *dinna*); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.

In -*tavya*: *dakhitaviya, vataviya, lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*.
 In -*ya*: *sakiya* and *saka, [cha]kya* and *chakiya*.

(6) INFINITIVE.

adhigatave, v[ā]ṭave (from root *vach*), *p[ā]ṭave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *pāv[a]ṭ[ā]ve* (from **prāpati*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārodheve* (read *ārādheta*) and *[ā]lādheta[v]e*.

(7) ABSOLUTE.

abhivāde[tū]nam; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

II. THE THREE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

For *vadhisiti* and *munisā*, see above, p. cxxiii. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ṛi* becomes (1) *i* in *pakiti* (= *prakritik*), *pitisu* (= *pitṛishu*); (2) *u* in *pitusu*; (3) *ra* in *drahyitavyam* (from *drihyati*). *au* becomes *o* in *porāṇā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *adhātiya* (= Ardhamāgadhi *addhāijja*; see above, p. cxxiii), *upayita* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chira-ṭhitike, Suvannagiriti*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakiti*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pi, hakan, ti*.

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā rock-edicts in retaining the letter *r*, which has become *l* in the Māgadha dialect.

Skt. *ṛ* is preserved in *guṇā*, *paka[m]i* . . . *ṛeṇa* (read *pakamamīṇeṇa*), *porāṇā*, *prāṇesu*, *mahāmātānaṃ*, *li[ṛi]kareṇa*, *Suvamṇagirīte*, *sāvane*, but is replaced by dental *n* in *aḍhātīyāni*, *khudakena*, *vasāni*. It is used instead of *n* in *Devāṇāmpīya* (Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *[Dev]ā[na]m̐piya* (Śiddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. *jñ* in *āṇapayati*.¹

k appears to have become *y* in *diyadhiya* (= **dvikārdhya*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hoti*, *husam*, *devehi*.

y is developed out of *i* in *upayite* and becomes *v* before *u* in *dī[gh]āvuse*. *ayi* becomes *e* in *ārādheteve*. *ava* becomes *o* in *hoti*.

ś and *sh* have become *s* throughout; but *ś* is improperly used for *s* in *[ā]char[i]yaśa* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) and *śa[cha]m̐* (Śiddāpura). *h* is prefixed in *hevam* and *hemeva*.

Final *as* becomes *e* in *Suvamṇagirīte*, *aṭhe*, &c., but *a* in *esa* (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in *iya* and *bādha*.

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved, and the syllable *va* is dropped, in *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvamśēva*). Final *a* is elided before *u* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), and before *e* in *mahātpenzeva*. *i + i* become *ī* in *hiyam* (Brahmagiri, l. 4).

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *tm* (which becomes *tp*), *dr*, *pr*, *vy*, *sv*, *hy*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *ayaputasa*, *āchariya*, *avaradhiyā*, *diyadhiyam*, *e[t]āyathāya*, but the length remains in *āṇapayati*, *dī[gh]āvuse*, *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta*, *yathārahām*. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *vyūthēna*.

The long nasal vowel *ām̐* is shortened before consonants in *[Dev]ā[na]m̐piye*, *prakam̐te* and *pakam̐te*. Anusvāra is omitted after *a* in *atā* and *savachharam̐*.

kt becomes *t* in *vativiya*.

ky remains in *sakye* (Brahmagiri), but becomes *k* in *sake* (Śiddāpura).

kr becomes *k* in *pakama*, *prakam̐te* and *pakam̐te*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gy becomes *giy* in *ārogiyam̐*.

jñ becomes *ñ* in *ñātika*; *ṛ* in *āṇapayati*.

As in *ātpa-* (= Skt. *ātman*) at Gīrnār, *tm* becomes *tp* in *mahātpa* (= *mahātman*).

ty becomes *ch* in *sacham̐*.

tr becomes *t* in *ayaputasa*, *mahāmāta*.

ts becomes *chh* in *samvachhara*.

dr remains in *drahyitavyam̐*, but becomes *d* in *khudaka*.

dv becomes *d* in *Jambudīpasi* and *diyadhiyam̐*.

pn becomes *p* in *pāpotave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakam̐te* (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes *p* in *pakam̐te*, &c.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rgh becomes *gh* in *dī[gh]āvuse*.

ṛṇ becomes *m̐ṇ* in *Suvamṇagirīte*.

rt becomes *t* in *pavatitaviya*; *ṛ* in *kaṭaviye*.

rth becomes *th* in *aṭha*.

¹ Cf. Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, and *āṇapemi*, *āṇapita*, &c. at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

- rdh* becomes *ḍh* in *aḍhātiyāni* and *vaḍhisiti*.
rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *avaradhiyā*; *ḍhiy* in *diyaḍhiyaṃ*.
rm becomes *ṛm* in *dhamma*.
ry becomes *riy* in *āchariya*; *y* in *ayaputasa*.
rsh becomes *s* in *vasāni*.
rh becomes *rah* in *yathārahaṇi*.
vy remains in *vyūthēna* and *drahyitavyaṃ*, but becomes *viy* in the remaining gerunds in *-taviya* (= Skt. *-tavya*).
śr becomes *s* in *misa*, *sāvane*, *sāvite*, *sāvāpīte*, *susūs[i]taviye*.
shṭ becomes *th* in *vyūthēna*.
shy becomes *s* in *munisā* and *vaḍhisiti*.
sth becomes *th* in *chira-ṭhittike*.
sm becomes *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.
sy becomes *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.
sv remains in *svage*.
hy remains in *drahyitavyaṃ*.

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>aṭhe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>ñātikā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>ekaṃ</i> , <i>savachharaṃ</i> ; neut. <i>ārogiyaṃ</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>kālena</i> , &c.	<i>devehi</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhāya</i> .	
Abl. <i>avaradhiyā</i> .	
Gen. <i>ayaputasa</i> , <i>pakamasa</i> .	<i>mahāmātānaṃ</i> .
Loc. <i>Isilasi</i> , <i>Jaṃbudīpasi</i> .	<i>ñātikesu</i> , <i>prāṇesu</i> .

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is *-aṃ* in [*likhita*]*ṃ* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vataviyaṃ*, *sachāṃ*.

- (2) Feminine in *-ā*: nom. sing. *porāṇā*.
 (3) Feminine in *-i*: nom. sing. *pakitti*.
 (4) Masculine in *-u*: loc. plur. *garu[su]*.
 (5) Masculine in *-ri*: loc. plur. *pītisu* (Brahmagiri) and *pītusu* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara).
 (6) Masculine in *-an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a*-declension: instr. sing. *mahātpeṇ[a]*; nom. plur. *mahātpā*.
 (7) Masculine in *-in*: instr. sing. *aṃtevaśinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakaṃ*; instr. *mayā*, *me*; gen. *mai* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta*.

Acc. sing. neut. *se*; nom. plur. masc. *se*.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat. sing. *e[ṭ]āya*; nom. sing. fem. *esā*.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>iyaṁ</i> ; neut. <i>iyaṁ, iya</i> .	Masc. <i>imā</i> .
Acc. masc. <i>imaṁ</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. *ya, yaṁ*.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

- (a) Indicative: 3. sing. *hoti, āṇapayati*.
 (b) Optative: 3. plur. *pakameyu, jāneyu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. *husaṁ*.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. *āha*.

(4) Future: 3. sing. *vaḍhisiti*.

(5) Participles.

- (a) Present middle participle: *paka[m]i . . ṇa* (read *pakamamīṇa*), *samāna* (from root *as*).
 (b) Past passive participle: *upayīta* (from *upa-i*), *prakamita* and *pakamita* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vyūtha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
 (c) Future passive participle: *vataviya, kaṭaviya, drahyitavya* (from the present *dṛihyati*), *apachāyitaviya, pavatitaviya, susūs[i]taviya* (from the desiderative of *śru*).

(6) Infinitive.

pāpotave (from Skt. *prāpṇōti*), *ārādhetaṇe*.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजूहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो कतव्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजमिह पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो (F) पुरा महानसमिह
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय वो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न ध्रुवो (H) एते पि चि प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

- 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rāñā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kiṃ-
- 3 chī jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṃ
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṃ hi dosam
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadasi rājā¹
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rāño (F) purā mahānas[amhi]²
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[a]dasino rāño anudivasam ba-

¹ Before *rājā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

² The first syllable of *mahānasa*^o looks almost like *me*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānase* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without correcting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line.

- 9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya
 10 (G) se aja yadā ayaṁ dha[m]ma-lip[i] likhitā tī eva prā-
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
 12 mago na dhruvo¹ (H) ete pi trī prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality² has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

(B) Here³ no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting⁴ must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.⁵

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.⁶

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,⁷ (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
 2 एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंव-
 3 पंणी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
 4 राजानो सर्वच देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो वे चिकीछ कता

¹ *dhruvo* Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *u*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [A]*mdhra* in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aparakaraṇamhi* in edict XII, l. 3.

² The literal meaning of *dhamma-lipi* (or *dhrama-dipi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R. and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

⁵ This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Saṁkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*sūpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

⁷ Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

- 5 मनुसचिकीछा च पसुचिकीछा च (B) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वचा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यच नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता व्रछा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

- 1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Devānāmpriyasa Piyadasino¹ rāño
 2 evamapi prachamtesu yathā Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tām-
 3 paṁṇī Aṁtiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tasa Aṁtiy[a]kas[a]² sāmīp[am]³
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dve chikichha katā
 5 manusa - chikichhā cha pasu - chikichhā cha (B) osuḍhāni cha yāni
 m[a]nusopagān[i] cha
 6 paso[pa]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā⁴ hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra⁵ nāsti sarvata⁶ hārāpitāni cha
 rop[ā]pitāni cha
 8 (D) paṁthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-
 manusānam

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,⁷ the Kētalaputa,⁸ even⁹ Tāmraparṇī,¹⁰ the Yōna king Antiyaka,¹¹ and also the

¹ Priya° Bühler.

² Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2. 449; *Aṁtiyokasā* Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 95.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read *sāmīnam*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmāntā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmāntā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sāmīpam* (or *sāmīpā*?).

⁴ *sarvatā* Senart, *sarvatra* Bühler.

⁵ *yata* Bühler.

⁶ *sarvatra* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Satiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakaveṇhuputta*, *Videhaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *devaputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt. *rājaputra*.

⁸ Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the *Κηρόβοθρος* of Ptolemy; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

⁹ The syllable *ā* cannot be the preposition *ā*, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative *Tāmbapaṁṇiyā*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative *yā*; see SPAW, 1914. 831.

¹⁰ Tāmraparṇī (*Tāmbapaṁṇī* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form *Ταμροβάρη*; see IA, 6. 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparṇī is the name of a river in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

¹¹ Kālsī and Mānsehrā read *Aṁtiyoga*, the remaining versions *Aṁtiyoka*. Antiochus II Theos

kings who are the neighbours¹ of this *Antiyaka*,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment² were established by king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin*, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं
 2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूके च प्रादेसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
 3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्ठिय यथा अजा-
 4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मित्रसंस्तुतजातीनं बाम्हाण-
 5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु
 6 (E) परिता पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

- 1 (A) *Devānāmpiyo*³ *Piyadasi* r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) *dbādasa-vāsābhisitena* mayā
 idaṃ ān[a]pitaṃ
 2 (C) *sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu*
vāsesu anusam-
 3 *y[ā]na[m] n[ī]yātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusaṭṭiya yathā añā-*
 4 *ya pi kaṃmāy[a]* (D) *[s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-saṃstuta-ñātināṃ*⁴
bāmhāṇa-
 5 *samaṇānaṃ sād[h]u d[ā]naṃ prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho apa-vyayatā apa-bhāḍatā*⁵
sādhu
 6 (E) *parisā pi yute āṇapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto cha vyaṃjanato cha*

of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, *IA*, 20. 242.

¹ For *sāmaṃtā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmīpaṃ*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, *IA*, 34. 245, and *AJP*, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

² D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

³ *°priyo* Bühler.

⁴ *mitra-* looks almost like *mitā-*; see *EI*, 2. 450, n. 47.

⁵ *apabhīṃḍatā* Senart, *apabhāṃḍatā* Bühler.



TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,¹ the *Rājūka*,² and the *Prādēśikn*³ shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)⁴ every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.⁵

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'⁶

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)⁷ also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.⁸

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अंतरं बहूनि वाससतानि वदितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं
जातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपती ब्राह्मणसमणानं असंप्रतीपती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो
राजो
- 3 धंमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धंमघोसो विमानदर्शणा च हस्तिदसणा च

¹ For *yuta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kautiliya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *vinīyuktaka* in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

² Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rajju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kautiliya*, the two terms *chōra-rajju* (p. 60) and *chōra-rajjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Arthaśāstram*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

³ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *prādēśhtri* in the *Kautiliya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradīśati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradēśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* (IV, 126) *prādēśikēśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauī, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

⁴ Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

⁵ Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, CC.

⁶ This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

⁷ Bühler translated *parisā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kautiliya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

⁸ I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *gaṇanāyāni hetuto cha vyañjanato cha*. For *vyañjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Sārṇāth pillar-edict, section I.

- 4 अगिखंधानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि
वाससतेहि
- 5 न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्ठिया अनारं-
- 6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि
- 7 सुसुसा थैरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव
देवानंप्रियो
- 8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुचा च पोचा च प्रपोचा च देवानंप्रियस
प्रियदसिनो राजो
- 9 प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्टंती धंमं
अनुसासिसंति
- 10 (G) एस हि सेस्ते कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस
(I) त इममहि अथमहि
- 11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अथस वधि
युजंतु हीनि च
- 12 नो लोचेतथा (K) द्वादसवासाभिसित्तेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं
लेखापितं
- 1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃt[a]raṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva prāṇāraṃbho vihiṃsā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātīsu
- 2 a[s]aṃpratipati brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṃ asaṃpratipatī¹ (B) ta² aja Devānaṃ-
priyasa Priyadasino³ rāño
- 3 dhamma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā⁴ cha hasti-
da[sa]ṇā cha
- 4 agi-kh[a]m dhāni cha [a]ñāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam (C) yārise bahūhi
v[āsa]-satehi
- 5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño
dhammānusaṣṭiyā anāraṃ-
- 6 [bh]o prāṇānaṃ avihisā⁵ bhūtānaṃ nātīnaṃ saṃpaṭipatī brahmaṇa-samaṇānaṃ
saṃpaṭipatī mātari pitari
- 7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusā (D) esa aṇe cha bahuvidhe [dha]mma-charaṇe va[dhi]te
(E) vaḍhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo
- 8 [Pri*]ya[da]si⁶ rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇam idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño

¹ The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

² This syllable was inserted subsequently.

³ The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ -*dasaṇā* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ The syllable *hi* was inserted subsequently.

The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pra*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102.

- 9 [pra*]vadhayisaṃti¹ idaṃ [dha]ṃma-charaṇaṃ āva savāṭa-kapā² dhammamhi
silamhi tiṣṭaṃto [dha]ṃmaṃ anusāsisaṃti
- 10 (G) [e]sa hi seṣṭe kaṃme ya dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-charaṇe pi na
[bha]vati asīlasi (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi
- 11 [va]dhī cha ahīni cha sādhu (J) e[t]āya athāya³ ida[m] lekhāpitaṃ imasa atha[sa]
v[a]dhi yujamtu hīni⁴ ch[a]
- 12 [no]⁵ lochetavyā (K) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devān[a]ṃpriyena Priyadasinā
rāñ[ā] idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality,⁶ showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.⁷

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāṃpriya**

¹ See note 6 on previous page.

² *savāṭa*- Bühler.

³ Between *ihā* and *ya* the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

⁴ There is a vacant space between *hī* and *ni*.

⁵ Instead of *no* the plate facing EI, 2. 452 shows the syllable *mā*, which seems, however, to be due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read *nālochetavyā*.

⁶ For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911. 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśoka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.

⁷ D. R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (*hathīni* at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lōkapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the *Khadirāṅgāra-jātaka*. But according to Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 18, *aggikkhandha* is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the *Dhammapada* may be added *Mahāvagga*, I, 16-18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (*mahantā aggikkhandhā*). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (*agikkhandhāni*) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 395) would render *agniskandhāh* by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7. 266) quoted *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of *aggikkhandha* (*Āṅguttara-nikāya*, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With *divyāni rūpāni* cf. *devā* in the Rūpnāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),¹ (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they² should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).³

(K) This was caused to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति
- 2 (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कातं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं आव संवटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा
- 3 सो सुकातं कासति (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकातं कासति (G) सुकातं हि पापं (H) अतिकातं अंतरं
- 4 न भूतपुवं धंममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चैदसवासाभिसितेन धंममहामाता कता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिस्तानाय
- 5 धंमयुतस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्तिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

¹ See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911, 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, addenda) quotes *saṃvarta-kalpa* from the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

² Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

³ In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *lochetu* at Kālsī corresponds to *rochetu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb *locheti* in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, where forms of *rocheti* would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [*a*] *lochetpā* at Gīrnār and *alocheti* at Shāhbāzgarhī correspond to *alochayitu* at Kālsī.

- 6 सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते (L) बंधनवधसं
पटिविधानाय
7 प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा चैरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते
च बाहिरसु च
8 ये वा पि मे अजे जातिका सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं
धंमनिसितो ति व
9 ते धंममहामाता (O) एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
10

- 1 (A) D[e]vānaṃpriyo Piyadasi rājā¹ evaṃ āha (B) kalāṇaṃ dukaraṃ (C) y[o
ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]sa² so dukaraṃ karoti
2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā³ cha paraṃ cha
tena y[a] me [a]pachaṃ āva saṃvaṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
3 so sukataṃ kāsati⁴ (F) yo tu eta desaṃ pi hāpesati so [du]kataṃ kāsati
(G) sukaraṃ hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ
4 na bhūta - pruvaṃ⁵ dhamma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-
vāsābhi[s]i[tena] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsaṃdesu vyāpatā
dhāmadhiṣṭhānāya⁶
5 [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]ṃbo[ja]-Gaṃdhārānaṃ⁷ Ristika-
P[e]tenikānaṃ ye vā pi a[m]ñ[e ā]parātā⁸ (K) bhatamayesu va
6 [su]khā[ya dhamma] - yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa⁹ paṭividdhānāya
7 [p]rajā¹⁰ katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute
cha bāhiraṃ¹¹ cha
8 [y]e vā pi me añe nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṃ dhamma-
nisrito ti va
9 [t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya¹² athāya ayaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā
10

¹ There is a vacant space before and after the syllable *rā*.

² *ye a* *kalāṇesa* Senart and Bühler.

³ *potā* Bühler.

⁴ The Kālsi and Dhaulī versions read correctly *se sukataṃ kachhaṃti*. As Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Gīrnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

⁵ Read *-purvaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *-pruvaṃ* Bühler.

⁶ The other versions read *dhammādhī*.

⁷ *Yona*- Bühler.

⁸ *aparātā* Bühler.

⁹ The *na* of *bāndhana*- was inserted subsequently.

¹⁰ [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ājā. Cf. the *r* of *traidasa*- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.

¹¹ Read *bāhiresu*, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.

¹² The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin is easily committed.

(H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.

(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōṇas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras,¹ the Ristikas and Pētēnikas,² and whatever other western borderers³ (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters⁴ for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).⁵

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners⁶ (with money)⁷ (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i. e. incurably ill?),⁸ or with the aged.

¹ i. e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābis; see ASSI, I. 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3. 353 f., and JRAS, 1911. 801 f., 1912. 255 ff., 1915. 171.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rīṣṭikas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Ristika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbāzgarhi edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24. 52 ff.), *Petenika* stands for **Paitrayanika*. Dhauti reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharōṣṭhī versions read *Pitinika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

³ In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20. 240. For *amta* see the Kālsī edict II, L 1, and XIII, L 6; Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauti and Jaugaḍa. Later on Aparānta became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II. 220.

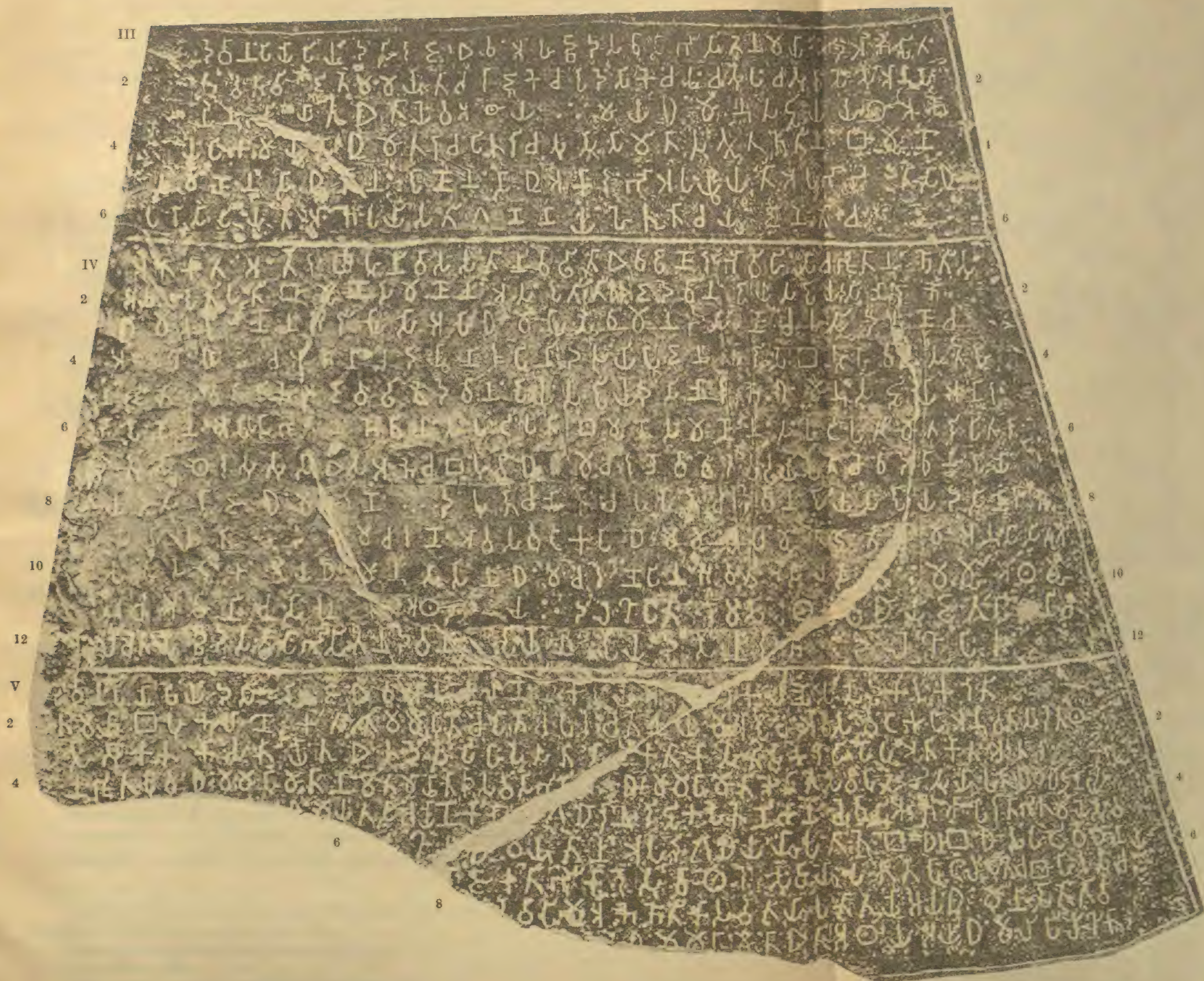
⁴ The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhṛta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895. 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893. 240 f.

⁵ Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *parigriddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915. 99 ff.

⁶ Cf. *bandhana-badhānam munisānam* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

⁷ Cf. *hiraṇya-patividhāno* in the Gīrnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 840.

⁸ With *katābhikāra* Senart compares *abhikṛitvarīh*, '(female) demons who are) bewitchers', and *abhinishkārin*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Atharvaveda*. Bühler (EI, 2. 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48. 55.



(M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality whether one is eager for morality¹

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवा सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिक्रातं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतप्रुव सव . . ल अथकमे व पटिवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कतं
- 3 (D) सवे काले भुंजमानस मे ओरोधनम्हि गभागारम्हि वचम्हि व
- 4 विनीतम्हि च उयानेसु च सवच पटिवेदका स्तिता अथे मे जनस
- 5 पटिवेदेथ इति (E) सर्वच च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुखतो
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सावापकं वा य वा पुन महामाचेसु
- 7 आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निम्ती व संतो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं पटिवेदेतथं मे सर्वच सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजपितं (H) नास्ति हि मे तोसो
- 9 उस्तानम्हि अथसंतीरणाय व (I) कतथमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
- 10 (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्तानं च अथसंतीरणा च (K) नास्ति हि कमतरं
- 11 सर्वलोकहितत्पा (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनणं गद्धेयं
- 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परचा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताय अथाय
- 13 अयं धंमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुचा पोता च प्रपोचा च
- 14 अनुवतरं सवलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजच अगेन पराक्रमेन

- 1 (A) [Devā]. [s]i rājā evaṁ āha (B) atikrāt[a]m antara[m]
- 2 na bhūta-pru[v].² [s]. [v]. . . [l].³ atha-kamme va paṭivedanā vā (C) ta mayā evaṁ katan
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhuñj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi va
- 4 vinītamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā⁴ sṭitā athe me [ja]nasa
- 5 paṭivedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kiṁchī mukhato
- 6 āñāpayāmi svayaṁ dāpakam vā srāvāpakam vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
- 7 āchāyī[ke]⁵ aropitam⁶ bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a s]anto parisāyam

¹ *nisrito* = Pāli *nissito* and Skt. **niśritaḥ* (Senart). For *yo ayam* cf. my note on the translation of section L of the Kālsi version of this edict.

² Read *-purva*; *-puva* Senart, *-purva* Bühler.

³ Restore *save kāle*.

⁴ An apparent *u*-mark is attached to the bottom of *ṣi*.

⁵ *āchāyika* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *aropitam* Bühler.

- 8 ānaṃtaraṃ paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṃ me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evaṃ mayā āñapitaṃ
(H) nāsti¹ hi me to[s]o
9 uṣṭānamhi atha-saṃtiraṇāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitam
10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānam cha atha-saṃtiraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṃmataraṃ
11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kiṃchi parākramāmi ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ
gachheyaṃ
12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagaṃ ārādhayaṃtu ta² (M) etāya athāya
13 ayaṃ dha[m]ma-lipī lekhāpitā kiṃti chiram tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha
prapotrā cha
14 anuvataram³ sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaram [t]u idaṃ aṇatra⁴ agena parākramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment,⁵ even at the cowpen,⁶ in the palanquin,⁷ and in the parks.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*)⁸ a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved,¹⁰ in connexion with any donation or proclamation¹¹ which I myself am ordering

¹ An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from l. 8 to l. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after *nāsti* in l. 8, *-loka-* in l. 9, *kaṃmata*² in l. 10, and *ānaṃṇaṃ* in l. 11.

² Read *ti*.

³ Senart and Bühler correct *anuvateram*. Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) and Bühler read *anuvatarām*, which the former considered to be an imperative like *duhrām* in the *Atharvavēda*. Cf. Johansson's *Shāhbāzgarhi*, 2. 89 f. The *ra* certainly resembles *rā*; but the same applies to the *ra* of *pakaraṇe* in the Girnār edict IX, l. 8, and of *samachairam* in XIII, l. 7, where the reading *rā* is impossible.

⁴ *āṇata* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Cf. Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, s. v. *gābhār*.

⁶ The locative *vachamhi* (= *vrachaspi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. *varchas* does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rock-edict XII, M, *vacha* or *vracha* probably corresponds to Skt. *vraja*, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.

⁷ With *vinīta* cf. Skt. *vinīta* and *vainīta*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.

⁸ See above, p. 5, n. 7.

⁹ *saṃto* is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rock-edict VI, F.

¹⁰ Bühler (ASSI, 1. 123) rendered *nijhatī* by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading *nikatī*, but not the actual reading *nijhatī*. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be **nidhyapti*, 'inducing to meditate', i. e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.

verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*,¹ it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.²

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important³ than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that⁴ I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them⁵ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंडा वसेयु (B) सवे ते सयमं च
2 भावसुधिं च इच्छति (C) जनो तु उचावचछंदो उचावचरागो (D) ते सर्वे व कासंति
एकदेसं व कसंति
3 (E) विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सयमे भावसुधिता व कतंजता व दढभतिता च
निचा बाढं

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsandā vaseyu (B) save te
sayamaṃ cha
2 bhāva-sudhiṃ cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṃdo uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te
sarvaṃ va kāsanti eka-desam va kasa[m]ti
3 (E) vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katanjātā va daḍha-
bhatī[t]ā cha nichā bāḍham

¹ K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the *Kauṣīṭya*, p. 29, l. 12: चात्त्वयिषे चादे मन्त्रियो मन्त्रिपरिवदं चाह्वय ब्रूयात् 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.

² With *atha-saṃtīraṇā* cf. *ślīta-damḍa* in the pillar-edict IV, L.

³ I adopt Bühler's explanation of *kaṃmataram* as a comparative of *karman*.

⁴ Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Aśoka inscriptions and in literary Pāli *kimti* means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where *kimti* at Gīrnār, Dhauḷi, and Jaugaḍa corresponds to *yena* at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

⁵ The form *nāni* occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, l. 4; *nā* in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun *na* may be derived from Skt. *ēna*, and *sha*, which corresponds to it in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, from *ēsha*.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.¹

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिक्रांतं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एत मगव्या अजानि च एतारिसनि

2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु (C) सो देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधिं

3 (D) तेनेसा धंमयाता (E) एतयं होति बाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च चैरानं दसणे च

4 हिरणपटिविधानो च ज्ञानपदस च जनस दस्पनं धंमानुसस्ती च धमपरिपुछा च
5 तदोपया (F) एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो भागे अंजे

1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ ṇayāsu (B) eta magavyā añāni cha etārisani²

2 abhīramakāni ahuṃsu (C) so Devānāmpriyo³ Piyadasi rājā dasa-varsābhisito⁴ saṃto ayāya Saṃbodhiṃ

3 (D) tenesā dhamma-yātā (E) etayaṃ hoti bāmhāṇa-samaṇānaṃ dasaṇe cha dāne cha thairānaṃ dasaṇe ch[a]

4 hiraṇṇa-paṭivīdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa⁵ daspanaṃ⁶ dhammānus[a]ṣṭi cha dhama-paripucchā cha

5 tadopayā (F) eṣā bhuya rati bhavati Devānāmpiyasa Priyadasino rāṇo bhā[g]e aṃṇe

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.⁷

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

¹ The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies *nichā* with the Vēdic adverb *nichā*. The variant *niche* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa may correspond to Skt. *nichaiḥ* or *nichah*.

² Read °sāni.

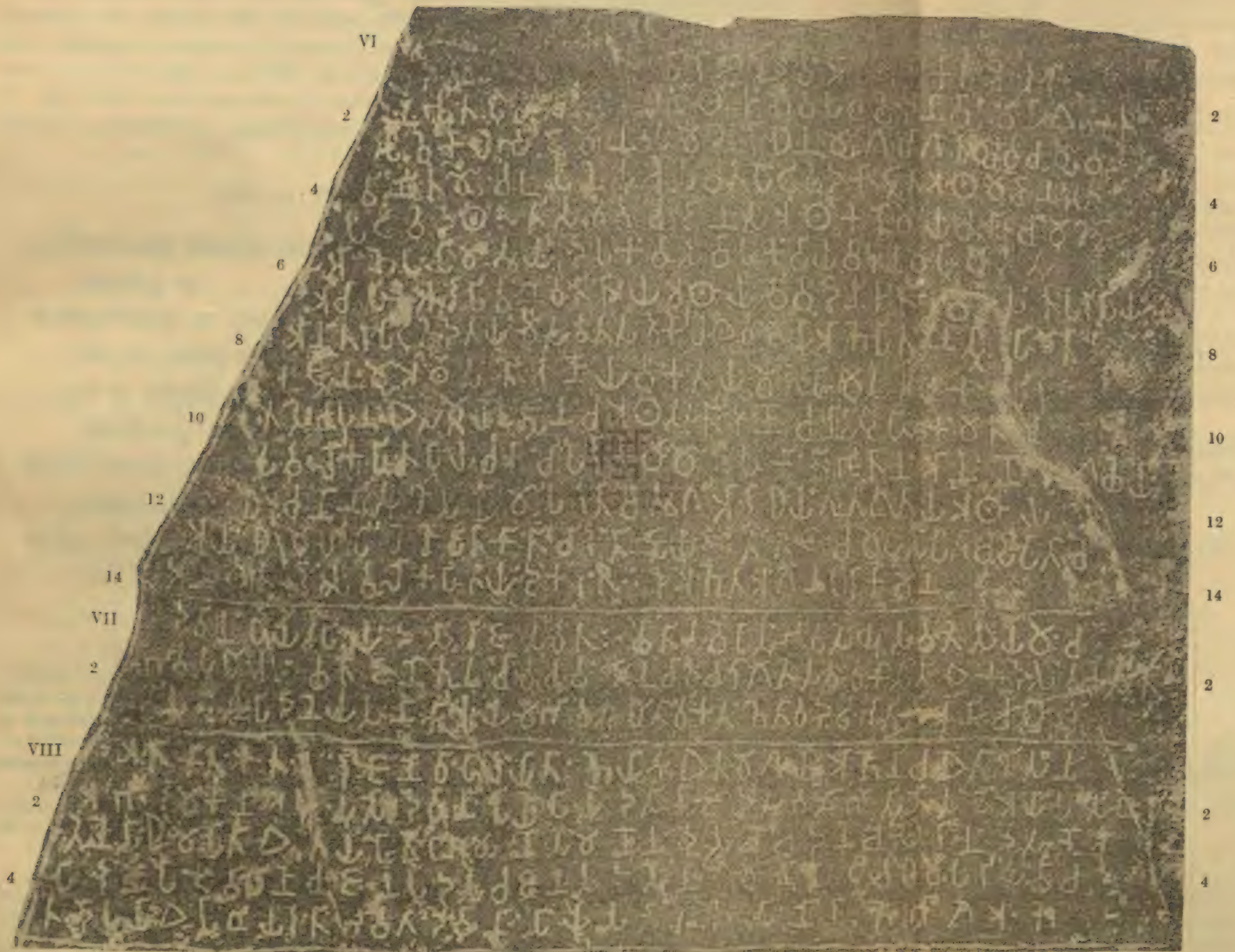
³ °piyo Bühler.

⁴ -vasā° Senart and Bühler.

⁵ jānasa Bühler.

⁶ Read *darsanaṃ*, which is Senart's reading; *dasanaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains *ṇayāsu* = **nyayāsuḥ* in the sense of *nirayāsuḥ*. See also Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 488, n. 2.



(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went to Sāmbōdhi.¹

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).²

(E) On these (tours) the following³ takes place, (viz.) visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold,⁴ visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).⁵

(F) This second period⁶ (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.⁷

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदत्ति राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते
आवाधेसु वा
- 2 आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुचलाभेसु वा प्रवासंभि वा एतम्ही च अजम्हि च जनो
उचावचं मंगलं करोते
- 3 (C) एत तु महिडायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च ह्युदं च निरथं च मंगलं करोते (D) त
क्तथमेव तु मंगलं (E) अपफलं तु खो
- 4 एतरिसं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धम्ममंगले (G) ततेत दासभतकम्हि
सम्यप्रतिपत्ती गुरुनं अपचिति साधु
- 5 पाणेषु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतारिसं धम्ममंगलं
नाम (H) त वतथं पिता व

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bōdh-Gayā, south of Paṭṇā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśōka's visit to the bōdhi-tree is described in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rumindēi pillar.

² The singular *esā dhammayātā* seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as *vihāra-yātām* in section A.

³ Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained *etayam* by *eta iyam*. As *ayam* is used for the neuter *idam* in the Gīrnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for *eta ayam*; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

⁵ With *tadōpaya* Senart compares the Pāli words *tadūpiya* and *opāyika*. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with *opaga* in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüdērs in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

⁶ Hitherto the two words *bhāge amñe* and *bhāge amne* at Kālsī and Dhāuli have been taken as locatives = Pāli *apara-bhāge*. As Lüdērs (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in *-asi*.

⁷ The word *bhuya* (= *bhuye* in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as *bhuye* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüdērs (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes *bhuya-rati* to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with *esā*, and *bhāge amñe* to be locatives. But *esā* need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Gīrnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with *bhāge amñe*, as [e]se at Kālsī and *eshe* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions.

- 6 पुनेन वा भावा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कतव्य मंगलं आव तस अयस
निष्ठानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वुतं
- 7 साधु दन इति (J) न तु एतारिसं अस्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धंमदानं व
धमनुगहो व (K) त तु खो मिचेन व सुहदयेन वा
- 8 जतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादितव्यं तम्हि तम्हि पकरणे इदं कचं इदं साध इति
इमिना सक
- 9 स्वगं आराधेतु इति (L) कि च इमिना कतव्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी
- 1 (A) Devānāmpīyo Priyadasi rājā eva¹ āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ
karote ābādhesu vā
- 2 āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsamhi vā etamhi cha añamhi cha jano
uchāvacham maṅgalaṁ karote
- 3 (C) eta tu mahiḍāyo bahukam cha bahuvidham cha chhudam cha nirath[am] cha
maṅgalaṁ karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalam² (E) apa-phalam tu kho
- 4 etarisaṁ³ maṅgalaṁ (F) ayam tu mah[ā]-phale maṅgale ya dhamma-maṅgale
(G) ta[te]ta⁴ dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnam apachiti sādhu
- 5 pāṇesu sayamo sādhu bamhaṇa-samaṇānam sādhu dānam et[a] cha añ[a] cha
etārisam dhamma-maṅgalaṁ nāma (H) ta vatavyam pitā va
- 6 putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya⁵ maṅgalaṁ āva tasa
athasa niṣṭānāya (I) asti cha pi vutam
- 7 sādhu dana⁶ iti (J) na tu etārisam astā⁷ dānam va ana[ga]ho⁸ va yārisam dhamma-
dānam va dhamanugaho⁹ va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā
- 8 ñatikena¹⁰ va sahāyana¹¹ va ovāditavyam tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe¹² [i]dam kacham
idam sādha¹³ iti iminā sak[a]¹⁴
- 9 svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram yathā svagāradhi¹⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,¹⁶ or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

¹ *evam* Bühler.

² Read *maṅgalaṁ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

³ Read *etārisam*.

⁴ *tata* Senart and Bühler; but the *te* can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, and is supported by the other versions.

⁵ *katavyam* Bühler.

⁶ Read *dānam*; *danam* Bühler.

⁷ Read *asti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁸ Read *anugaho*.

⁹ *dhammānugaho* Bühler.

¹⁰ Read *ñāti*.

¹¹ Read *yena*.

¹² The syllable *ra* looks almost like *rā*.

¹³ Read *sādhu*.

¹⁴ *sakam* Bühler.

¹⁵ *radhi* Bühler.

¹⁶ For *āvāha* and *vivāha* cf. *Jātaka*, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders,¹ gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said also: 'Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.²

(K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) And what is more desirable than this,³ viz. the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाथावहा मज्जते अज्जत तदात्पनो दिघाय च मे जनो
- 2 धम्मसुसुंसा सुसुसता धंमवुतं च अनुविधियतां (B) एतकाय देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इच्छति
- 3 (C) यं तु किञ्च परिकमते देवानं प्रियदसि राजा त सर्वं पारचिकाय किति सकले अपपरिसवे अस (D) एस तु परिसवे य अपुंजं
- 4 (E) दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अज्जच अगेन पराक्रमेन सवं परिचजित्पा (F) एत तु खो उसटेन दुकरं

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo 'Priyadasi rājā' yaso va kiti va na mahāthāvah[ā] mañate 'añata tadātpano' dighāya cha me [ja]no
- 2 dhamma-susu[m]sā⁴ 'susrusatā' dhamma-vutaṃ cha anuvidhiyatāṃ (B) etakāya Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va [chha]ti

¹ The word *sādhu* after *apachiti*, *sayamo*, and *-samañānaṃ* is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Girnār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 57 f.) has traced the two terms *dhamma-dāna* and *dhammānuggaha* in the *Itivuttaka*.

³ A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1332.

⁴ *°priyo* Bühler.

⁵ An obliterated *de* is visible between the syllables *sī* and *rā*, and an obliterated *vā* between *rā* and *jā*.

⁶ *maññate* Bühler.

⁷ Read, with Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 87), *tadātpane*.

⁸ *-susrusā* Senart, *-susrusā* Bühler.

⁹ *°satām* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 (C) ya[m̐] tu kich[i] ¹ parik[a]mate ² Devānam ³ Priyadasi rājā ta savaṁ pāratrikāya
kiṁti sakale a[pa]-parisrave ⁴ asa (D) esa tu parisave ⁵ ya apuṁṇam
4 (E) dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chhudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena
parāk[r]amena ⁶ savaṁ parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usaṭena dukaraṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame ⁷ conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future), ⁸ men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality. ⁹

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). ¹⁰

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult ¹¹ to accomplish for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देविनंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धंमदानं
धंसंस्तवो वा धंसंविभागो वा धंसंबधो व
2 (C) तत्त इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपत्ती मातरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-
सस्तुतजातिकानं वाम्हेणसमणानं साधु दानं
3 प्राणानं अनारंभो साधु (D) एत वतथं पिता वं पुत्रेन व भाता व मितसस्तुत-
जातिकेन व आव पटीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कतथं
4 (E) सो तथा करु इलोकचस आरधो होति परत च अनंतं पुइजं भवति तेन
धंमदानेन

¹ *kimchi* Bühler.

² Read *parākamate*; *parākamate* Senart, *parākamate* Bühler.

³ Add °*priyo*.

⁴ *appa-* (probably a misprint) Bühler.

⁵ *parisrave* Bühler.

⁶ *parākamena* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ i.e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death,

⁸ Instead of *tadātpano(ne) dighāya cha* the Jaugaḍa version has the synonymous expression *tadatvāye āyatiye cha*, which occurs also in the *Kauṣṭhīya*, p. 248, l. 9 (*tadātve cha āyatyām cha*), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prakṛit affix *-tvana* or *-tana*, see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 405.

⁹ With this passage cf. the Girmār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, P: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality'.

¹⁰ I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation, 'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśoka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though he recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

¹¹ The Jaugaḍa version reads *dukalatale* for *dukaraṁ*.

- 1 (A) *Devānāmpriyo*¹ *Piyadasi rājā* ev[a]m āha (B) *nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-saṃstavo vā dhamma-saṃvibhāgo [vā]*² *dhamma-saṃbadho*³ va
- 2 (C) *tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitarā*⁴ *sādhū sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ bāhmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṃ]*⁵ *sādhū dā[naṃ]*
- 3 *prāṇānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhu* (D) *eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mita-sastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭivesiyehi*⁶ *ida*⁷ *sādhū ida*⁷ *ka[tav]ya[m]*
- (E) *so t[a]thā karu*⁸ *ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha anantaṃ*⁹ *puiṇaṃ*¹⁰ *bhavati tena dhamma-dānena*

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.¹¹

(C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.¹²

(D) Concerning this¹³ a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'¹⁴

(E) If one is acting thus,¹⁵ the attainment¹⁶ of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ Read *Devānaṃ*^o, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *va* Bühler.

³ Read *-saṃbaddho*.

⁴ Read *pitarī*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *-samaṇānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *paṭi*^o Senart and Bühler.

⁷ *idaṃ* Bühler.

⁸ Read *karuṃ*, as in the Gīrṇār edict XII, F.

⁹ Read *anantaṃ*.

¹⁰ *puiṇaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ The two expressions *dhamma-dāna* and *dhamma-saṃvibhāga* occur in a passage of the *Itivuttaka*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 57 f.

¹² The other versions omit the superfluous word *sādhū* after *pitarā*, *-sramaṇānaṃ*, and *anāraṃbho*; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

¹³ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

¹⁴ Cf. the Gīrṇār edict IX, H and K.

¹⁵ Senart and Bühler take *karuṃ* as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS, 31. 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between *karo-* and *kuru-*.

¹⁶ In the Gīrṇār version *āradho* seems to be used as a substantive, just as *āradhi* in the Gīrṇār edict IX, L, and *āladhi* in the Dhauli separate edict I, S, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च पूजयति दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने
- 2 (B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किति सारवढी अस सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा
- 3 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किंति आत्पपासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अप्रकरणम्हि लहुका व अस
- 4 तम्हि तम्हि प्रकरणे (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरणेन (F) एवं कंरु आत्पपासंडं च वढयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति
- 5 (G) तदंजया करोतो आत्पपासंडं च छणति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो हि कोचि आत्पपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं व गरहति
- 6 सवं आत्पपासंडभतिया किंति आत्पपासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तथ करातो आत्पपासंडं वाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु
- 7 किंति अजमंजस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इच्छा किंति सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु
- 8 (K) ये च तथ तत प्रसंना तेहि वतथं (L) देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व मंजते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सर्वपासंडानं (M) वहका च एताय
- 9 अथा व्यापता धंममहामाता च इथीम्समहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आत्पपासंडवढी च होति धंमस च दीपना

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyad[a]si rājā sava-pāsaṃḍāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[ā]nena cha vivādhāya¹ [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne
- 2 (B) na tu tathā dānaṃ va pū[jā] va D[e]vānaṃpiyo maṃñate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī asa sa[va-pā]saṃḍānaṃ (C) sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvidhā
- 3 (D) tasa² tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vachi-guṭī kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-pūjā va para-pāsaṃḍa-garahā³ va no bhaye aprakaraṇamhi⁴ lahukā va asa
- 4 tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṃḍā tena tana⁵ prakaraṇena (F) evaṃ karuṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ cha vaḍhayati para-pāsaṃḍasa cha upakaroti
- 5 (G) tad-aṃñathā karoto ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ⁶ cha chhaṇati para-pāsaṃḍasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ pūjayati para-pāsaṃḍaṃ v[a]⁷ garahati

¹ Read *vividhāya*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² The writer had originally written *tasa tasa*, but he scored out the first *sa* and the second *ta*.

³ The syllable *saṃ* of *-pāsaṃḍa-* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ The syllable *pra* looks almost like *ha*; the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *abhipretam* near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁵ Read *tena*.

⁶ *-pāsaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *vā* Bühler.

- 6 *savaṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhatiyā*¹ *kiṃti ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto*² *ātpa-pāsaṃḍa[m] bāḍhataraṃ upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu*
- 7 *kiṃti [a]ñamañña³ dhammaṃ sruṇāru⁴ cha susuṃsera⁵ cha (J) evaṃ hi D[e]vānaṃpiyasa ichhā kiṃti⁶ sava-pāsaṃḍā bahu-srutā cha asu kal[ā]ṇāgamā cha [a]su*
- 8 **(K)** *ye cha tatra tata⁷ prasaṃnā tehi vatavyaṃ (L) Devānaṃpiyo no tathā dānaṃ va pūjāṃ⁸ va maññate yathā kiṃti sāra-vaḍhī asa sarva-pāsaḍānaṃ (M) bahakā⁹ cha etāya*
- 9 *athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithijhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmikā cha añe cha nikāyā (N) ayaṃ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vaḍhī cha hoti dhammasa cha dīp[a]nā*

TRANSLATION

(A) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* is honouring all sects:¹⁰ both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech,¹¹ (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this)¹² out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of *Dēvānāmpriya*, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

¹ -pāsaḍa- Bühler.

² Read *karoto*.

³ *mañña*^o Senart, *añña*^o Bühler.

⁴ Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read *sruṇeru*. But the form *sruṇāru* is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

⁵ *susuṃserā* Senart, *sususera* Bühler.

⁶ The syllable *ti* was inserted subsequently.

⁷ *tate* Bühler.

⁸ *pūjā* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read *bahukā*.

¹⁰ The *cha* after *sava-pāsaṃḍāni* is superfluous; see Bühler, EI, I. 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.

¹¹ Instead of *vachi-gutī* the other versions read *vacha-gutī*. With *vachi* cf. the *Ardhamāgadhī* from *vai* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

¹² The readings *shave* at Kālsī and *savre* in the two *Kharōṣṭhī* versions show that *savaṃ* at Gīrnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to¹ (as follows).

(L) *Dēvānāmpriya* does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers)² are occupied for this purpose,³ (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,⁴ the inspectors of cowpens,⁵ and other classes (of officials).⁶

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) जो कलिंगा वज वडे सतसहस्रमात्रं तचा
हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पद्धा अधुना लधेसु कलिंगेसु तीवो धंमवायो
- 2 सयो देवानंप्रियस वज वधो व मरणं व
अपवाहो व जनस त बाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि .. स
- 3 बाह्मणा व समणा व अजे सा माचि पितरि
सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंस्ततसहायजातिकेसु दासभ ..
- 4 अभिरतानं व विनिस्समण (H) येसं वा प
हायजातिका व्यसनं प्रापुणति तत सो पि तेस उपघातो हाति (I) पटीभागो
चेसा सब ..
- 5 स्ति इमे निकाया अजच योनेसु म्हि यच नास्ति
मानुसानं एकतरम्हि पासंडम्हि न नाम प्रसादो (K) यावतको जनो तदा
- 6 सभागो व गरुमतो देवानं न य सक छमितवे
(M) या च पि अटवियो देवानंपियस पिजिते पाति
- 7 चते तेसं देवानंपियस सबभूतानां अद्धतिं च
सयमं च समचैरं च मादव च

¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in *-chi* at Jaugada (*-samanehi*, III, 1. 3, and *mahāmātehi*, VI, 1. 3), and at Kālsī (*mahāmātehi*, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, 1. 28, and XII, 1. 7, and *ājīvikehi* in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

² As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words *bahukā cha*, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

³ For the dative *athā* (= *athāya*), see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 67.

⁴ With *itihijhakha* cf. *ganikādhyaaksha*, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, II, 27.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 470, n. 18) suggested that *vacha* (= *vracha* at Mānsehrā) may be a Prākṛit form of *vraja*, 'a cowpen', and compared *gavādhyaaksha*, 'the overseer of cows', in the *Kāmasūtra*, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also *gōdhyaaksha* in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, II, 29. For the hardening of *j* in *vracha* cf. *vrachamti* and *v[r]acheyam* (from Skt. *vrajati*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, XIII, S, and VI, L.

⁶ The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend to Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas, Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.

IX

2

4

6

8

X

2

4

XI

2

4

XII

2

4

6

8

Rock-Edicts RNAR, Ninth to Twelfth. The text is written in an ancient script, likely Brahmi, on a dark, irregularly shaped rock surface. The script is arranged in horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The rock surface is heavily weathered and shows signs of significant damage, including cracks and missing pieces of rock. The text is organized into sections labeled IX, X, XI, and XII, with corresponding line numbers (2, 4, 6, 8) indicating the sequence of the inscriptions. The overall appearance is that of an archaeological find, possibly from the Gandhara region, given the reference to 'RNAR' (Rock-Edicts of the North-West Frontier Province).

- 8 लधो नप्रियस इध सवेसु च योनराज
परं च तेन चत्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अंतेकिन च मगा च
9 इध राजविसयम्हि योनकंबो अंपारिंदेसु सवत
देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्तिं अनुवतरे (S) यत पि दूति
10 नं धमानुसस्तिं च धमं अनुविधियरे विजयो
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (U) लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि
11 *प्रियो (X) एताय अथाय अयं धंमल वं विजयं
मा विजेतय्यं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च
12 किको च पारलोकिको इल्लोकिका च
पारलोकिका च

- 1 (A) ño *Kaliṃgā* [v . j .] [v . ḍh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātraṃ
tatrā hataṃ bahu-tāvatakaṃ mata¹ (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā² ladhesu
Kaliṃgesu ti[v]o dhammavāyo
2 [sa]yo *Devānaṃpriyasa* [v . j .] [va]dho va maraṇaṃ va
apavāho va janasa ta³ bāḍhaṃ vedana-mata⁴ cha g[u]r[u]-mata⁴ cha
Devā[naṃpi] .. [sa]
3 bāmhaṇā va samaṇā va añe , [s]ā mātr[i]⁵ pitari susuṃsā
guru-susuṃsā⁶ mita-saṃstata-sahāya-ñātike[su]⁷ dāsa-[bha]
4 abhiratānaṃ va vinikhamāṇa (H) yesaṃ vā [p .] [h]āya-
ñātikā vyasanaṃ prāpuṇati tata⁸ so pi tesa⁹ [u]paghāto hāti¹⁰ (I) paṭibhā[g]o
chesā s[ava]
5 sti ime nikāyā aṇatra *Yone[su]*¹¹ [mh]i yatra nāsti
mānusānaṃ¹² ekataramhi pāsamaṇamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o
j[ano ta]d[ā]
6 sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o] *Devānaṃ* na ya saka¹³
chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo *D[e]vānaṃpiya[sa]*¹⁴ pijite¹⁵ pāti¹⁶

¹ *matam* Bühler.² *adhaṇā* Bühler.³ *taṃ* Senart and Bühler.⁴ *-matam* Bühler.⁵ *mātā-* Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of *t* seems to be intended for *r*.⁶ *-susuṃsā* Bühler.⁷ Read *-saṃstuta-*, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ *tatā* Senart, *tatra* Bühler.⁹ *tesaṃ* Senart and Bühler.¹⁰ Read *hoti*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.¹¹ *yo nesa* Senart; Mānsehrā reads *Yoneshu* quite distinctly.¹² *manu*^o Bühler.¹³ *sakam* Bühler.¹⁴ Two old fissures of the rock, the first after *pi* and the second after *sa*, run on to the next line, where they divide the word *samachairam* into three parts; ^o*priyasa* Bühler.¹⁵ Read *vijite*.¹⁶ Read *hoti*.

- 7 chate te[sa]m **Devānāmpiyasa** sava-bhūtānām¹
 achhatim² cha sayamañ cha samachairam³ ch[a] mādava⁴ cha
 8 [la]dh[o] **nañpriyasa** idha [sa]vesu [ch.]
 [Yo]na-rāja⁵ param cha tena chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]m̐t[ek]ina⁶
 cha Magā cha
 9 idha rāja-vi[sa]yamhi [Y]o[na]-**Kaṁbo** **m̐dhra-**
Pārimdesu⁷ savata **Devānāmpiyasa** dhammānus[a]ṣṭim anuv[a]tare (S) yata
 pi dūti⁸
 10 [na]m dhamānusasṭim cha dhamam̐ anuvīdhiyare⁹
 [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo pīti-raso sā¹⁰ (U) ladhā sā pīti hoti dhamma-
 vijayamhi
 11 m̐[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayañ dhamma-[l]
 [va]m vijayam mā vijetavyam mamñā¹¹ sarasake eva vijaye chhāti¹² cha
 12 kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko] ilokikā cha pāralokikā¹³ cha

TRANSLATION

- (A) the **Kaliṅgas**
 (B) one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain
 there, (and) many times as many those who died.
 (C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, a zealous
 study of morality¹⁴
 (D) [the repentance] of **Dēvānāmpriya**
 (E) slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered
 very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.
 (G) Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, [or] other obedience to
 mother (and) to father, obedience to elders to friends, acquaintances,
 companions, and relatives, [to] slaves or deportation of (their)
 beloved ones.
 (H) [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune,
 this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).
 (I) This is shared [by] all

¹ -bhūtānām Bühler.

² An old fissure of the rock, between *chha* and *tim*, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.

³ *samacheram* Senart, *samacherām* Bühler.

⁴ *mādvam* Bühler. ⁵ -rājā Bühler.

⁶ *Amtakāna* Senart, *Amtekinā* Bühler.

⁷ The apparent *e*-stroke attached to *dha* is probably meant for *r*; *m̐dha*-P[i]rimdesu Bühler.

⁸ Read *dūtā*. ⁹ *dhama* Senart; *anuv[i]dh[i]yare* Bühler.

¹⁰ *so* Bühler. ¹¹ *mañā* Bühler.

¹² *chhāti[m̐]* Bühler.

¹³ Between *pāra* and *lo* a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.

¹⁴ Instead of *dhammavāyo* Shāhbāzgarhī seems to read *dhrama-silana*, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining *dhammavāyo* by *dharmavāya*.

(J) these classes except among the Yōnas¹ where men are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) As many people as at that time part is considered deplorable by Dēvānām[priya].

(L) what can be forgiven.

(M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānām-priya

(N) They are [told] of Dēvānāmpriya

(O) towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

(Q) has been won by [Dēvā]nāmpriya here and among all the Yōna king,³ and beyond him four kings, (viz.) Turamāya, Antekina, Magā

(R) here in the king's territory, [among] the Yōnas and Kambō[jas] among the [A]ndhras and Pārindas,—everywhere (people) are conforming to Dēvānāmpriya's instruction in morality.

(S) Even where the envoys and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality

(T) this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly,⁴—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(W) [Dēvānā]mpriya.

(X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality should not think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,⁵ mercy

(Y) in the other world.

(AA) both in this world and in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
- 2 संखितेन अस्ति मरुमेन अस्ति विस्ततन (B) न च सर्वे सर्वत घटितं
- 3 (C) महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चैव (D) अस्ति च एत कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अयस माधूरताय किंति जनो तथा पटिपजेय
- 5 (E) तत्र एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सद्याय कारणं व
- 6 अलोचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

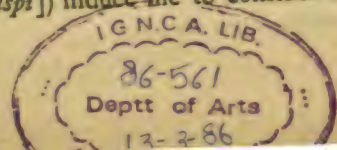
¹ i.e. the Greeks.

² As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (*na*) is redundant.

³ For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālsī version.

⁴ Cf. the Kālsī version, Q.

⁵ Bühler divided *sarasake* into *sara-sake*, which he translated by 'possible by arrows'. The various readings of Kālsī (*shayakashī*) and Shāhbāzgarhi (*spa[kaspi]*) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrīhi of *sva + rasa*.



- 1 (A) ayaṁ dhamma-lipī Devānāmpriyena Priyadasinā r[ā]ñā l[e]khāpitā asti eva
 2 saṁkhit[e]na asti majhamena asti vistatana ¹ (B) na cha sarvaṁ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṁ
 3 (C) mahālake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha likhitaṁ likhāpayisaṁ cheva (D) asti cha eta kaṁ
 4 puna puna vutaṁ tasa tasa athasa ² mādūratāya kiṁti jano tathā paṭipajetha
 5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṁ likhita[m] asa desaṁ va sachhāya [kā]raṇaṁ va
 6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king **Dēvānām-priya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) And ³ the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And some of this ⁴ has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) ⁵ in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, ⁶ or because (my) motive was not liked, ⁷ or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

- 1 तेष
 2 पिपा
 1 t[esha] ⁸
 2 [p]i[p]ā ⁹

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

..... र्वस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोक्सुखाहरो नाम
 rva-sveto ¹⁰ hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma

¹ Read *vistatena*.

² The syllable *sa* was inserted subsequently.

³ The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Gīrnār reading would suit Senart's translation of *ghaṭitaṁ* by 'put together'.

⁴ The other versions suggest that *eta kaṁ* must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to *atra kiṁchit*. Cf. also *ata k[i]chhi* in the Kālsī version, E.

⁵ The particle *cha* is inserted at Dhāuli and Jaugada.

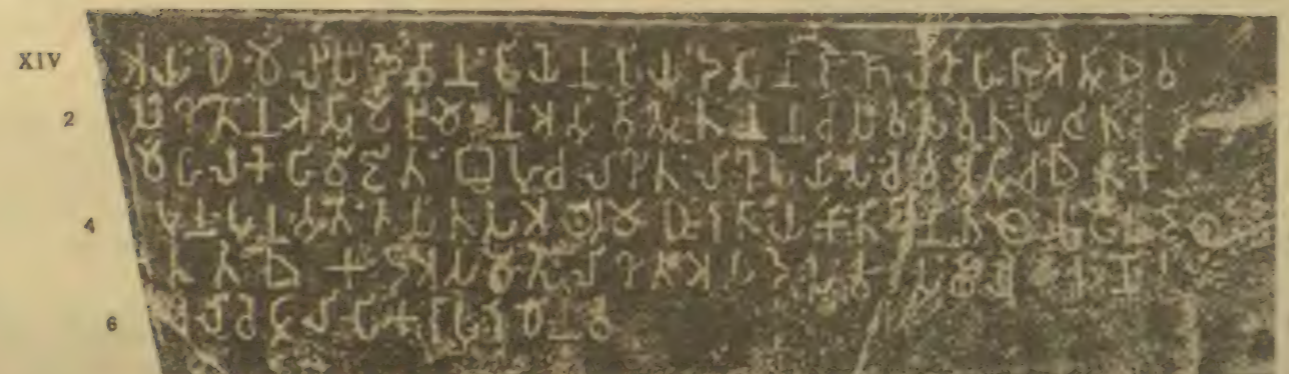
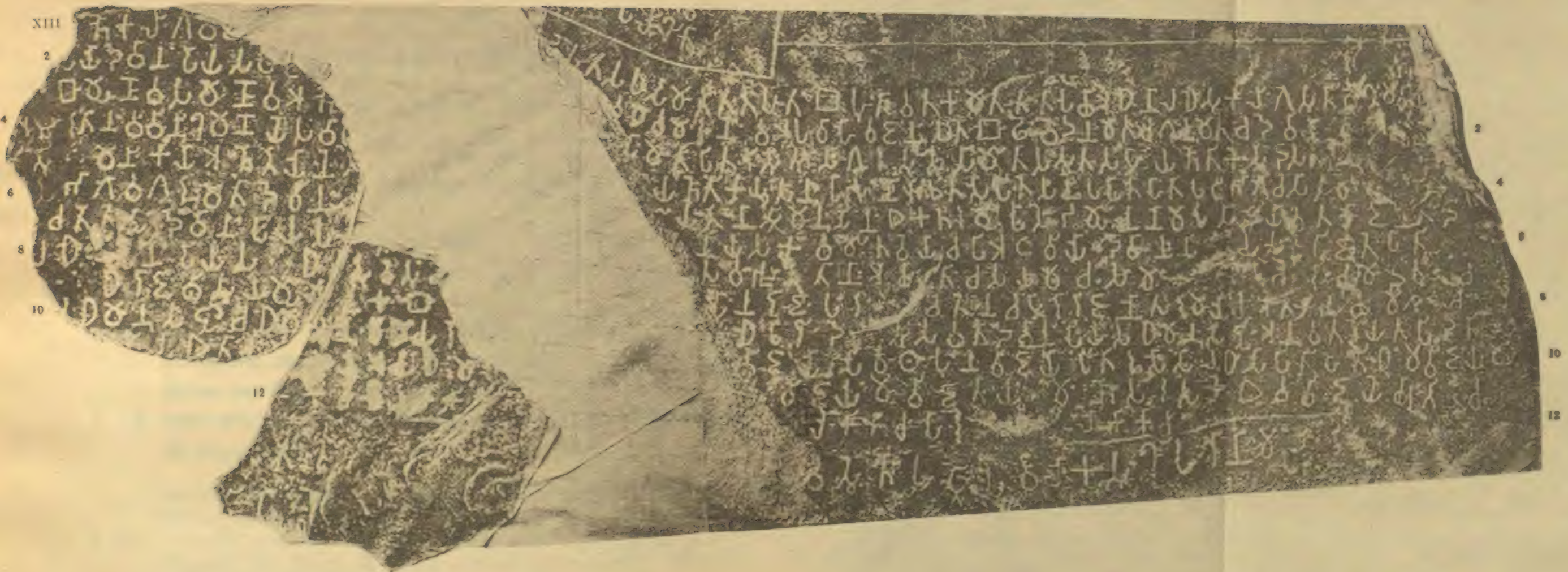
⁶ Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhāuli and Jaugada for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered *sachhāya* = *saṁkhyāyam*, and connected it with *kāraṇaṁ*; see ZDMG, 40. 142, and 48. 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = *saṁkṣāya* or *saṁkhyāya*.

⁷ Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take *locheti* = Skt. *rōchayati*; see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁸ This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula *hētuṁ tēshāṁ Tathāgato hy'avadat | tēshāṁ cha* &c.

⁹ Bühler (VOJ, 8. 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture *lipi[kareṇa*]*, which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

¹⁰ Restore *sarva*.



TRANSLATION

..... the entirely white¹ elephant² bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

A.—East Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किछि जिवे
आलभितु पजोहितविये
- 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये
पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता
देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने
- 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि
पातसहसानि अलंभियिमु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धम्मलिपि
लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
- 4 दुवे मज्जूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि
नो अलभियंसंति

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- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no³
kichhi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye
- 2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā samājasā Devān[arh]piye
Pi[ya]dasī lājā dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā] e[katiyā] samājā⁴ sād[h]u-matā⁵
Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine
- 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājini[e]⁶ anudivasam bahuni
pāta-sahasāni⁷ alambhiyisu⁸ supathāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi
lekhitā tadā timni yevā pānāni alabhi[yaṃ]ti⁹
- 4 duve majul[ā]¹⁰ eke mige se pi [chū]¹¹ mige no dhruve¹² (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u]¹³ tini
pānā[n]i no alābhi[y]isa[m]ti¹⁴

¹ Cf. *sabbaseto* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sabbo*.

² As stated by Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Gīrnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhauli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Gīrnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

³ *nā* Bühler.

⁴ *sa[m]āja* Bühler.

⁵ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *lajine* Bühler.

⁷ *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Bühler; read *pāna-sata-*.

⁸ *ālābhi*^o Bühler.

⁹ *alābhi*^o Senart, *ālābhi*^o Bühler.

¹⁰ *majali* Senart, *majulā* Bühler.

¹¹ *ye* Senart, *cha* Bühler.

¹² *dhave* Senart, *dhruve* Bühler.

¹³ *cha* Bühler.

¹⁴ *ālābhi*^o Senart, *ālābhi*^o Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सवता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंवपंनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता नथि

6 सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता नथि सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेषु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānāmpiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine ye cha aṁtā [a]thā Chodā Paṁ[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Tamba[pa]ṁni

5 Aṁtiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā aṁne tas[ā] Aṁtiyogasā sā[ma]ṁtā lā[j]āno [sa]vatā Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā (B) osadhīni¹ manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā² a[ta]tā n[a]th[i]

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpit[ā] chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]t[ā] nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni³ lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]naṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Sātiyaputa**, the

¹ *osadhāni* Senart and Bühler.

² *cha* Senart and Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

Kōlalaputa,¹ **Tāmraparṇī**, the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoga**,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

6 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा

7 (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनययिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अठाये इमाय धंमनुसथिया यथा अनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु

8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंयुतनातिक्यानं चा वंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजने चा

6 (A) De[vā]nāmpiye Piyadasi lājā h[e]vaṃ āhā

7 (B) du[v]āḍasa-v[a]sābhisitena me iyam ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama] yutā laj[ū]k[e] ² pādesike pa[m̐]cha[s]u paṃchasu vasesu [a]nusa[m̐]yānaṃ ³ nikham[am̐]tu etāye vā a[t̪]āye imāya ⁴ dhammanusathiyā yathā am[nāye] pi kamāye (D) sādhu

8 mātā-pitisu sususā mita-saṃthuta-nātikyān[am̐] chā baṃbhana-sama[nā]nam [chā] sādhu d[ā]ne pānānaṃ anālambh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā ⁵ [a]pa-[bha]m[da]t[ā] sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]ṇanasi anap[a]jyisanti hetuvatā chā viyaṃjanat[e] chā ⁶

TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) **anointed twelve years**, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūka*, (and) the *Prāḍṣika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

¹ As the Kālśī dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kēralaputra* at *Mānsehrā*.

² *lajaki* Senart, *lajuke* Bühler.

³ *anusiyānaṃ* Senart, *anus[a]yānaṃ* Bühler.

⁴ *athāye imāy[e]* Bühler.

⁵ The other versions read **yatā* or **yata*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas*¹ to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons² and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 9 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिते वा पानालंभे विहिसा चा भुतानं
नातिना असंपटिपति समनबंभनानं असंपटिपति (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अहो धंमघोसे विमनदसना
- 10 हथिनि अगिकंधानि अन्नानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसयितु जनस (C) आदिसा
बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा वढिते देवानंपियसा पियदसिने
लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भुतानं नातिनं
- 11 संपटिपति वंभनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापितिसु सुसुसा (D) एसे चा अंने चा
बहुविधे धंमचलने वधिते (E) वधियिसति चेवा देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्या चा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने
- 12 पवढयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवरुपं धंमसि सीलसि चा चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि चा
नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अथसा वधि अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये
अथाये इयं लिखिते
- 13 इमसा अथसा वधि युजंतु हिनि च मा अलोचयिसु (K) दुवादसवशाभिसितेना
देवानंपियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता

- 9 (A) atika[m]taṁ a[m]ta[la]ṁ bahunī vasa-satāni v[adh]it[e] vā pā[nā]lambhe
vi[h]isā chā bhutānaṁ nātina³ asaṁ[pa]tip[a]ti samana-b[am]bhanānaṁ
asampatiṭipati (B) s[e] ajā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine dhamma[a]-
chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho dhamma-ghose vimana-dasan[ā]
- 10 [ha]thini agi-kamdh[ā]ni amnāni chā⁴ divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā⁵
ba[h]u[hi] v[asa]-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādisē ajā vadhite Devānaṁpiyasā
Piyadasine [l]ājine dhammanusathiye a[n]ālambhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhutānaṁ
nāti[nam]⁶

¹ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -āni. Cf. *yutāni* in E with *yutā* in C, and *Kaligyāni* in XIII, D, with *Kaligyā* in A; also XII, A, and *pulisāni* in the pillar-edict IV, G.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 108) explained *hetuvatā* by *hētumatā vākyaṇa*, i.e. 'by a syllogism'. The other versions read *hetuto* or *hetute*.

³ *nātinaṁ* Bühler.

⁴ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁵ *adisam* Senart, *adis[e]* Bühler.

⁶ *nātisam* Senart, *nāti[su]* Bühler.

- 11 saṃpāṭipati bāmbha[na-sa]manānaṃ saṃpāṭipati mātā-pitisu sususā (D) ese¹ chā
amne chā ba[h]uvidhe dhamma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā
Devānāṃpiya[e] **Piyadasi** lāja² ima[m̐] dha[m̐]ma-chalanaṃ (F) putā cha kaṃ
natāle chā panāṭikyā ch[ā] **Devānāṃpiyasā** **Piyadasine** lājine
- 12 [pa]v[a]dhayisaṃti[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanaṃ i[maṃ]³ āva-kapa[m̐] dhammasi
s[i]lasi⁴ chā chīṭhit[u] dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti (G) ese hi seṭhe kaṃm[am̐] aṃ
dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-chalane pi chā no hoti asilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā
a]thasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]thāye iyaṃ likhite
- 13 imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujaṃtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisu (K) **duv[ā]das[a]-**
vas[ā]bhisitenā **Dev[ā]nāṃp[i]yen[ā]** **Piyadaśinā** lājinaṃ lekhitā⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons,⁶ grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve⁷ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

¹ *esha* Bühler.

² *lājā* Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁴ *silasī* Senart, *silasi* Bühler.

⁵ *lekhitam* Bühler.

⁶ The two syllables *cha kaṃ* seem to have the same meaning as the simple *cha*. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgarhī (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (l. 11). Cf. *kaṃ* after *nū*, *sū*, *hī* in the *Rigveda*.

⁷ See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment *a-* is retained after the particle *mā*, while Shāhbāzgarhī has *lo[ch]e[sh]u* in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकले कयानसा
से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा
नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कळंति
(F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नामा सुपदालये
(H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-
वसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामाता कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधियानाये चा धंमवढिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए
वा पि अंने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु बंभनिभेसु अनथेसु बुधेसु हिदसुखाये
धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा ते (L) बंधनवधसा पटिविधानाये
अपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुवधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा बाहिलेसु चा
नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अंने नातिके
सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता
विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चिलथितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु
- 13 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale.¹ (C) e ādikale
kay[ā]nasā se dukalaṃ kaleti (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭ[e] (E) t[ā]
ma]m[ā² putā] ch[ā] nat[āle chā]
- 14 palam [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvaṭisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭam
kachham[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desaṃ pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i³ s[e] dukaṭam kachhati
(G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā⁴ supadālaye (H) se atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no huta-puluva⁵
dham[ma]-mahāmata⁶ nāmā⁷ (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sita⁸nā mamayā dhamma-
mahāmāt[ā] kaṭ[e] (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsaṃ[de]su viyā[pa]ṭā
- 15 dham[m]ādhithā[nāye ch]ā dhamma-vaḍhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā⁹ dhamm[a]-yuta[sā]
Yona-Kaṃb[o]ja-Gaṃdhālānaṃ e vā [pi] aṃne apalaṃtā (K) bhaṭamayesu
baṃbhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye apalibodhāye
viyapaṭā¹⁰ te (L) baṃdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye
chā eyaṃ anubadh[ā]¹¹ pajāva ti v[ā]
- 16 [kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā
naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u] olodha[n]esu bhā[tina]ṃ cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā] e vā [pi]
aṃn[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute¹¹

¹ Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.

² mama Bühler.

³ samti Bühler.

⁴ nāma Senart and Bühler.

⁵ puluvā Senart and Bühler.

⁶ -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.

⁷ nāma Bühler.

⁸ vi Senart, chā Bühler.

⁹ viyāpaṭā Bühler.

¹⁰ anubandha Senart, anubā[dham] Bühler.

¹¹ -sayute Senart, -saṃyute Bühler.

ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]mma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-
m[a]hām[a]tā¹ (O) etāye aṭhāye

17 [i]yaṃ dhamma-lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu²

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.³

(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed** thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness⁴ of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the **Yōnas**, **Kambōjas**, and **Gandhālas**,⁵ and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,⁶ with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,⁷ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).⁸

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.⁹

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here¹⁰ and in all the outlying towns, in the harems¹¹ of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

¹ *mātā Senart and Bühler.

² *anuvataṃtu* Senart and Bühler.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supadālaye* (for which Mānsehrā reads *supadarave*) by *supradāryam*. Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī read instead of it *sukaram*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *pada*, 'a step', as *mahālaka* (l. 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*.

⁴ Here and in K the Dhauī version reads *hita*- instead of *hida*-.

⁵ Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

⁶ i.e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauī and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhiya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kalsī and Shāhbāzgarhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the *Āṭaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *brāhmaṇ-ibbhā* occurs several times.

⁷ The reading *dhamma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Gīrnār version, *dhamma-yutānaṃ*.

⁸ According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Gīrnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

⁹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *eyaṃ anubadhā* = Skt. *etam anubandham* in the sense of *etad-artham*. But *eyaṃ* may stand for *e ayaṃ* (cf. *e ayaṃ* in section N = *yo ayaṃ* at Gīrnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

¹⁰ Instead of 'here' the Gīrnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

¹¹ The Dhauī version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions¹ with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality² or properly devoted to charity.³

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants⁴ may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे
सवं कलं अठकमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं
अदमानसा मे
- 18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं
जनसा वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि
चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना
महामतेहि
- 19 अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निरुति वा संतं पलिसाये
अनंतलियेना पटि विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते
ममया (H) नथि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते
हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने
- 20 अठसंतिलना चा (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत
चा स्वगं आलाधयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-
ठितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सवलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना
- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no
huta-puluv[e] sav[a]ṁ kalam⁵ aṭha-k[am]me [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā vā (C) s[e]
ma[may]ā hevaṁ kaṭe (D) s[a]vaṁ kalam⁵ adamānas[ā]⁶ me
- 18 olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i vin[itasi u]y[ānasi sava]t[ā paṭive]dakā aṭha[m]
janasā vedetu⁷ [m]e (E) sa[va]tā [ch]ā⁸ ja[nas]ā aṭhaṁ kachhāmi hakaṁ
(F) yaṁ pi ch[ā k]i[chhi m]u[kha]t[e ānapayā]mi [ha]kaṁ dā[pakaṁ] v[ā]
sāvakaṁ] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi⁹

¹ The Dhauli version reads 'on the whole earth'.

² Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

³ In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānsehrā version reads *dana-saṁyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.

⁴ See Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 841 f.

⁵ *kālam* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *adam[a]nasā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *paṭivedantu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁸ Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

⁹ *mātehi* Bühler.

- 19 a[tiyāyike ālopite¹ h]o[t]i tā[yeṭh]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtaṁ palis[ā]ye
 anam[ta]l[i]yenā paṣ[i] viye² me sav[a]t[ā] savaṁ kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ
 ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose³ uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye chā
 (I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā] ch[ā]⁴ [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule
 uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kaṁ[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha
 kichhi⁵ palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhutānaṁ [a]naniyaṁ ye[haṁ hi]da cha [kā]ni
 sukhāyāmi palata chā svagaṁ ālādhayitu⁶ (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi
 lekhitā chila-ṭhitikyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]⁷ iyaṁ anat[ā]⁸ agenā palakam[e]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvaṇaṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty¹⁰ (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.¹¹

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹² happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

¹ *pitam* Bühler.

² Restore *paṭivedetaviye*.

³ Jaugaḍa reads *tose*; Bühler adds *va*.

⁴ Bühler omits *chā*.

⁵ *kichi* Bühler.

⁶ Read *ālādhayantu*.

⁷ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ *anunata* Senart, *anata* Bühler.

⁹ The form *saṁtaṁ* corresponds to *saṁto* at Gīrnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālśī edict VIII, C, and as *kalanītaṁ* in XII, H; see also *kala[ṁta]*, XI, E, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, X.

¹⁰ *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālśī edict XIII, E (*vedaniya-mute gulu-mute chā*). The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchāvucha* (Kālśī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchāvucha* (Gīrnār).

¹¹ For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.

¹² As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Gīrnār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular *kaṁ* occurs in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives¹ may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इहति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इहंति (C) जने चु उचावुचाहंते उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एकदेसं पि कहंति (E) विपुले पि चु दाने असा नथि

22 सयमे भावसुधि कितनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे बाढं

21 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]mḍa vas[e]vu (B) [sa]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhamti (C) jane [ch]u uchāvuchā chh[a]mde uchāvucha-lā[g]e (D) te savam eka-des[a]m pi k[a]chham[t]i (E) vipule pi chu dān[e]² asā nathi

22 sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanāt[ā³ d]iḍha-bhatitā chā ni[che] bāḍham

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires(that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिथा संबोधि

23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च बुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुसथि चा धम-पलिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने भागे अंने

22 (A) atikaṃtaṃ a[m]talaṃ Devānaṃpiyā [vihāla-yātaṃ nāma] nikhamisu (B) hidā migaviyā amnāni chā heḍisānā⁴ abhilāmān[i] husu (C) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite saṃtaṃ nikhamithā⁵ Saṃbodhi

23 (D) tenatā dharma-yātā (E) [h]etā iyaṃ hoti samana-bambhanānaṃ dasane chā

¹ The other versions render it probable that -dāle is a clerical mistake for -natāle, 'grandsons'

² dān[am] Bühler.

³ Read 'natā.

⁴ Read 'sāni, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ 'mithā Senart and Bühler.

dāne cha vudh[ā]naṃ dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṃna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā
[ja]n[a]sā das[a]ne dhammanusathī chā dhama-palipuchhā chā¹ tatopa[yā]
(F) [e]se bh[u]ye lāti² hoti Devānāmpiyasā Piyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]g[e] amne

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāmpriyas*³ used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
(C) When king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years,⁴ he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.⁵
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवाधसि
अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अनाये चा एदिसाये जने
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतुं च अवकजिनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा
निलयिया चा मंगलं कलंति
- 25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले च खो एसे (F) इयं च खो महाफले
ये धम्ममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकसि सम्पापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति
पानानं संयमे समनवभनानं दाने एसे अने चा हेडिसे । धम्ममंगले नामा
(H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-
संयुतेना अव पटिवेसियेना पि
- 26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अथसा निवुतिया इमं कळामि ति
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसयिके से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना
नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धम्ममंगले अकालिके (M) हंचे
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं
अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं
- 27 लधे होति हिद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पवसति तेना धम्ममंगलेना

¹ cha Bühler.² Read *lati*.³ Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the Gīrnār and Dhāuli versions have the word 'kings'.⁴ For the form *saṃtān* see above, p. 35, n. 9.⁵ viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Gīrnār version reads *tenesā*, but Shāh-bāzgarhī and Mānsehrā read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatra*. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at Kālsī and Dhāuli by *tena atā*.

- 24 (A) Devānāmpīye Piy[a]da[s]i lā[jā] āhā (B) jan[e] uch[āv]ucham maṃgalaṃ ka[l]leti ābādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne¹ pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]leti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-jani[yo] bahu chā bahuvidham chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā² chā magalaṃ ka[la]ṃti
- 25 (D) se kaṭavi³ cheva kho maṃgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u⁴ kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]yaṃ chu kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le ye dhamma-magale (G) he[tā] iyaṃ dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti⁵ gulunā apachiti [p]ā[n]ān[am] saṃyame⁶ s[a]man[a]-bambhanānaṃ dāne ese amne chā heḍise,⁷ dhamma-magale nāmā (H) se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]tinā pi suvāmiken[a]⁸ pi mita-saṃthuten[ā] ava⁹ paṭivesiyenā [p]i
- 26 iyaṃ sādhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiyaṃ imaṃ kachhāmi ti¹⁰ (I) e hi i[ta]le¹¹ magale sa[m]sayikye se¹² (J) siyā va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se¹³ (L) iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e] (M) haṃche pi taṃ aṭhaṃ¹⁴ no niṭeti¹⁵ hida aṭhaṃ¹⁶ palata anantaṃ punā pavasati¹⁷ (N) haṃche puna¹⁸ taṃ aṭhaṃ nivateti hidā¹⁹ tato ubhaye[sa]m
- 27 ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata²⁰ chā anantaṃ punā²¹ pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,²² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives²³ are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This

¹ This word cannot be correct, because in the Kālsī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in *-asi*. Read therefore (with Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa) *°dāye*, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *nilathiyam* Senart, *nilathiyam* Bühler.

³ Read *kaṭaviye*. ⁴ *vu* Bühler. ⁵ *-paṭipāti* Bühler. ⁶ *sāyamime* Senart, *sayame* Bühler.

⁷ Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read *taṃ*.

⁸ *°ken[ā]* Bühler.

⁹ *āva* Bühler.

¹⁰ *ka[tha]ṃti* Bühler.

¹¹ *ivale* Bühler.

¹² Bühler adds [*hoti*].

¹³ *cha vase* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁴ *athaṃ* Bühler.

¹⁵ Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivaṭeti*.

¹⁶ Read (with Shāhbāzgarhī) *atha*.

¹⁷ Read *puṃnam pasavati*.

¹⁸ *sukā* Senart, *punā* Bühler.

¹⁹ *hida* Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ *°tā* Senart and Bühler.

²¹ Read *puṃnam*, which is Bühler's reading.

²² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f.) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt. feminine **utpad*. Shāhbāzgarhī reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādanē*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadaye*.

²³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating ‘nurses and mothers’. Cf. *ambika-mādukehiṃ* in the *Mṛichchhakatika*, act VIII, verse 19.

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):¹ I shall observe this¹.

(I) For other² ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).³

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain⁴ of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

- 27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महयावा मनति अनता
यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदत्ताये अयतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु
मे ति धंमवतं वा अनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि
28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इछ (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवनंपिये पियदषि
लजा त षव पालंतिक्काये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे षियाति ति
(D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना षवं पलितिदितु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

- 27 (A) Devā[nam]piye Piy[a]dashā⁵ lajā⁶ y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāvā⁷
manati an[a]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[at]i tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane
dhamma-susushā susushātu me ti dhamma-vataṁ vā anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu⁸ ti
(B) dhata[k]āye⁹ Devāna[m]piye Piyadasi
28 lajā yasho vā kiti vā ichha¹⁰ (C) am ch[ā] kichhi lakamati¹¹ Devanampiye¹²
Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va¹³ pālaṁti kyāye¹⁴ vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave¹⁵
shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune¹⁶ (E) dukale chu kho eshe
khudakena vā vagenā¹⁷ ushūṭena vā ana[ta] agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[m]
palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta chu] kho
29 [u]shaṭe[na] vā dukale

¹ From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Gīrnār one. Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa agree with Gīrnār, but the two Kharōṣṭhī versions with Kālsī.

² *ī[ta]le* is the regular equivalent of *[ī]tare* at Mānsehrā. Shāhbāzgarhī reads however *etake*.

³ The words *palata anamtaṁ pumnaṁ pasavati* occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases *pasavati* is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to *bhavati* in the Gīrnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 580) was therefore right in explaining it by *pasavati* = Sanskrit *prasāvyatī*.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

⁵ Read *Piyadashi*.

⁶ *lāja* Senart, *lājā* Bühler.

⁷ The Gīrnār version reads *mahāthāvah[ā]*.

⁸ *yāta* Senart, *yatu* Bühler.

⁹ Read *etakāye*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ Read *ichhati*.

¹¹ Read *palakamati*.

¹² *Devānaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

¹³ *savaṁ* Senart, *shavaṁ* Bühler.

¹⁴ *pāliti* Senart, *pāliti* Bühler.

¹⁵ Read *palishave*.

¹⁶ The syllable *ne* was entered subsequently; *apune* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ *vagena* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.¹

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person² or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

29 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेडिषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने । धमषविभगे । धंमषंबधे । (C) तत एषे दाषभटकषि । षम्यापटिपति माता-पितिषु । शुषुषा । मितषंयुतनातिक्यानं समनावंभनाना दाने

30 पानानं अनार्लभे (D) एषे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि षवामिक्येन पि मितशंयुताना अवा पटिवेषियेना इयं षाधु इयं कटविये (E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्के च कं आलधे होति पलत चा अनत पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना

29 (A) Devānaṃp[i]ye Piyadashi [l]ājā hevaṃ hā³ (B) nathi h[e]dishe dāne adisha⁴ dha[m]ma-dāne । dhama-shav[i]bhage⁵ । dhamma-shaṃbadh[e] । (C) ta[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭakashi । shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu । shushushā । mita-shaṃthuta-nātikyānaṃ samanā-[ba]ṃbhanānā⁶ [dā]ne

30 pānānaṃ anāl[ar]bhe (D) eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi pute[na]⁷ pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vām[i]kyena⁸ pi mita-śaṃthutānā⁹ avā p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]¹⁰ iy[a]ṃ shādhū¹¹ iyaṃ kaṭaviye (E) [ś]e tathā kala[m]ta hidalokikyē cha kaṃ āladhe hoti palata ch[ā]¹² anata¹³ punā¹⁴ paśavati tenā dhamma-dānenā

¹ The form *shiyāti* occurs again in the Kālsī edict XII, B, where it is spelt *śiyāti*. Cf. also *siyati* in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XII, L, and in the Mānsehrā edict X, C.

² In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gīrnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhauī (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugaḍa (L) [*va*]ge. See also *hedisameva vagam*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauī.

³ Read *āhā*.

⁴ *yādisaṃ* Senart, [*ā*]dishaṃ Bühler.

⁵ *dhamma-shaṃvibhage* Bühler.

⁶ *samana-* and *nānaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *pute* Senart and Bühler; the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

⁸ Read *shuvāmi*.

⁹ The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line; read *tenā*.

¹⁰ *paṭivesi* Bühler.

¹¹ *sādhū* Bühler.

¹² *cha* Senart and Bühler.

¹³ *aṃnataṃ* Senart, *ananta* Bühler.

¹⁴ *puṃnā* Bühler; read *anantaṃ puṃnaṃ*.

(M) bahukā ch[ā] | etāyāthāye | viyāpaṭā | dha[m]ma-mahāmātā | ithidhiyakha-
mahāmātā | vacha-bh[u]mikyā | ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]¹

35 (N) iyaṁ cha etishā | phale | yaṁ ata-pāshaṁḍa-vaḍhi chā | hoti dhammasha² chā
dipanā |

TRANSLATION

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is honouring all sects: ascetics or house-
holders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as
(this). (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.³

(C) This⁴ promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising
one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or
(that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus,⁵ he is promoting his own sect considerably and is
benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and
wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out
of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if
he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each
other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of **Dēvānāmpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be both
full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to
(as follows).

(L) **Dēvānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this),
(viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahānāṭras* of
morality, the *Mahāmāṭras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other
classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect
takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) अठवषा- । भिषित- । वा देवानंपियस पिपदधिते । लाजिने । कलिग्या
विजिता । (B) दियदमिते । पानषतषहसे । ये त फा अपवुडे । शतषहषमिते ।
तत हते । बहुतावतके । वा मटे (C) ततो पछा । अधुना लधष । कलिग्येषु ।
तिवे । धंमवाये

¹ *nikāye* Senart, *nikā[yā]* Bühler.

² For *siyāti* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

³ For the form *kalāntam* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

⁴ *dhaṁ nasha* Bühler.

⁵ For the pronoun *nā* see above, p. 13, n. 5.

- 36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषधि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) धे अषि अनुषये । देवानं-
पियषा । विजिनिनु । कलिग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए
तता । वध वा । मलने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । धे बाढ । वेदनियमुते ।
गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि चु । ततो । गलुमततले ।
देवानंपियषा
- 37 (G) य तता वषति वाभना व धम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिषा वा येषु विहिता
एष अगभुतिषुषुषा मातापितिषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितधंयुतषहायनातिकेषु
दाशभटकषि धम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा
अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने
- 38 (H) येषं वा पि धुविहितानं धिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितशंयुतषहायनातिकष
वियषनं पापुनात तता धे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा
एष धवमनुषानं गुलुमुते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नधि चा धे जनपदे यता
नधि इमे निकाया अनता योनेषु
- 39 बंझने चा धमने चा नधि चा कुवापि जनपदधि यता नधि मनुषान । एकतलधि
पि । पाषडधि । नो नाम पषादे । (K) धे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु ।
लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुढे चा । ततो घते भागे वा । धहधभागे वा ।
अज गुलुमुते वा । देवानंपियषा

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
2
3 नेयु (O) इह
4 धवभु यम धमचलियं मदय ति (P) इयं वु मु
5 देवानंपियेषः ये धंमविजये (Q) धे च पुना लधे देवानंपि च
6 धवेषु च अते अ धधु पि योजनधतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला .. पलं
चा तेना
7 अंतियोगेना चताले ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अंतिकिने नाम मका ना-
8 म अलिक्यधुदले नाप निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंवपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा
9 हिदा लाजविशवधि योन्कंवोजेषु नाभकनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्केषु
10 अधपालदेषु धवता देवानपियषा धंमानुषधि अनुवतंति (S) यत पि दुता
11 देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं
12 धंमानुसधि धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियिसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे
13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (U) गधा सा होति पिति पिति
धंमविजय-

- 14 षि (V) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (W) पालंतिक्कमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेमंषिमे
 15 (X) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पयोता मे अमु
 16 नवं विजय म विजयतविय मनिषु षयकषि नो विजयषि खंति चा ल । हु-
 17 दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (Y) वे हिदलोक्किय
 पललो-

- 18 किये (Z) षवा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) षा हि हिदलोक्किय
 पललोक्किया

- 35 (A) aṭha-[va]shā-¹ | bhishita-² | shā [De]vānaṃpiyasha Piyadaashine | lāṭine |
 Kaligyā vijitā | (B) diyaḍha-mite³ | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e | ye [ta]phā apavudhe [i
 śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite⁴ | tata hate | bahu-tāvatake⁵ | vā maṭe (C) tat[o⁶ pa]chhā |
 adhunā ladheshā⁷ | Kaligyeshu | tive | dhamma[va]ye
 36 dhamma-k[ā]matā | dhammānushathī chā | Devānaṃpiyashā | (D) sh[e] athi
 anushaye | Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā | vijin[i]tu⁸ | Kaligyāni | (E) avijitāni hi |
 vijinamane | e tatā | vadha⁹ vā | malane vā | apavahe [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e
 bāḍha | vedaniya-mute | g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā | Devāna[m]piyashā | (F) iyaṃ pi
 chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānaṃpiyashā¹⁰
 37 (G) [ya] tatā¹¹ vashati b[ā]bhanā¹² va shama¹³ vā ane vā pāsāṃḍa gih[i]thā vā
 yeśu vihitā [e]sh[a] a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā¹⁴ m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā¹⁵ galu-shushā¹⁶
 mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-bha[ṭa]kash[i]¹⁷ sha[m]y[ā]-paṭipati diḍha-
 bhatitā tesham tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abbilātānaṃ vā vinikhamane
 38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvihi[t]ānaṃ¹⁸ shinehe avipahine e tānaṃ mita-shamth[ut]a-
 sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya¹⁹ viyashanaṃ²⁰ pāpunāta²¹ tatā²² she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā]²³
 upaghāt[e] hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]di gul[u]-m[a]te
 chā Devāna[m]piyashā (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāyā
 ānatā²⁴ Y[o]nesh[u]²⁵
 39 bāmhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi
 m[a]nushān[a]²⁶ | ekatalash[i] p[ā] | pāshaḍashi | no n[ā]ma pashāde | (K) she
 ava[ta]ke²⁷ jane | t[ā]dā Kali[m]geshu |²⁸ [ladheshu ha]te ch[ā]²⁹ maṭ[e] chā |
 [apavudhe chā i] tato³⁰ shat[e] bhāge vā | shah[a]sha-bhāge vā | aja gulu-mate
 vā | Devāna[m]piyashā

¹ bhisita- Bühler. ² -m[ā]te Bühler. ³ -māte Bühler. ⁴ -tāvatake Bühler.

⁵ tatā Senart and Bühler. ⁶ Read ladheshu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ This word may be read also vijinīti, as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant.

⁸ vadham Bühler. ⁹ Bühler adds i.

¹⁰ Read ye tatā in accordance with the Shāhbāzgarhi version, which reads ye tatra; savatā Senart and Bühler, who adds i.

¹¹ bāmbhanā Senart and Bühler.

¹² Read shamanā.

¹³ ag[a]bh[uta]- Bühler.

¹⁴ matā- Bühler.

¹⁵ -shusha Bühler; read -shushushā.

¹⁶ -bha[ṭa]kashi Bühler.

¹⁷ [sha]mvihitānaṃ Bühler.

¹⁸ The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line.

¹⁹ viyashane Bühler.

²⁰ Read pāpunāti, which is Bühler's reading.

²¹ tata Bühler.

²² -meva Bühler.

²³ ānatā Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ yenesha Bühler.

²⁵ -shānaṃ Bühler.

²⁶ āvatāke Bühler.

²⁷ Bühler omits

²⁸ cha | Bühler.

²⁹ tatā Senart and Bühler.

B.—South Face of Kalst Rock.

- 1
 2
 3 [ney]ju (O) ichha¹
 4 sha[va-bhu]² [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti (P) iya[m] vu³
 mu
 5 Devāna[m]piyeshā⁴ ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[m]-
 p[i] cha⁵
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu⁶ at[a] Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-
 lā]...⁷ [pa]lām chā tenā
 7 A[m]tiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-
 8 ma Alikyashudale nāma nicha[m] Choda-Parṇḍiyā avam Tambapamniyā
 hevamev[ā]⁸ (R) hevamevā
 9 [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi⁹ Yona-Ka[m]bojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapa[m]tishu¹⁰ Bhoja-
 Pitinikye[sh]u
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[na]m[pi]ya[shā] dhammānu[sha]thi
 anuvata[m]ti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā
 11 Devāna[m]piyasā no ya[m]ti t[e] pi sutu Dev[āna]m[pi]na[m]ya¹¹ dh[a[m]ma]-vuta[m]
 v[i]dh[a]na[m]
 12 dhammānusa[th]i dha[m]ma[m] anuvidhiya[m]¹² [a]nuvidhiya[m]¹³ [ch]ā (T) ye
 se [la]dhe
 13 etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye¹⁴ piti-lase se (U) gadhā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-
 vijaya-
 14 shi (V) lahukā v[u]¹⁵ kho sā piti (W) pāla[m]tikyameve maha-phalā ma[m]nam[ti]
 Dev[e]na[m]pi[ne]¹⁶
 15 (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iya[m] dha[m]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā¹⁷ me a[su]
 16 nava[m] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya¹⁸ manishu shayakashī no¹⁹ vi[ja]yashi khamti²⁰
 chā la hu-²¹
 17 da[m]datā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijaya[m] manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she
 hidalokikya palalo-
 18 kiye²² (Z) shavā cha ka²³ nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi hi[da]lokika
 pa[la]lokikyā

¹ Restore *ichhati*.² Restore *-bhutānam*.³ Read *chu*.⁴ Read *°piyashā*.⁵ Restore *°piyasa hida cha*.⁶ There is a fissure in the rock between *yojana* and *shateshu*.⁷ Restore *-lājā*.⁸ *hevameva* Bühler.⁹ [Hi]da-lājā Viśa-Vaji- Bühler.¹⁰ *Nābhaku*- Senart, *Nābhake* Bühler.¹¹ *°piniya* Senart, *°piyamya* Bühler; read *°piyasa*.¹² Read *°yamti*, which is Bühler's reading.¹³ Read *°samti*, which is Bühler's reading.¹⁴ This word is entered above the line.¹⁵ Read *chu*.¹⁶ Read *pāla[m]tikyameva mahā-phalam ma[m]nati Devāna[m]piye*.¹⁷ *pāpotā* Senart and Bühler.¹⁸ *vijayamaviya* Bühler.¹⁹ Read perhaps *yo* (= Prākṛit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāzgarhi.²⁰ There is a fissure in the rock here.²¹ Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu*.²² *ki* . ye Bühler.²³ Bühler omits *ka*; read *ka[m]* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).¹

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them,² they should take pleasure³ in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.⁴

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) इयं धमलिपि देवानंप्रियेना पियदसिना लजिना लिखापिता अथि
येवा सुखि-

20 तेना अथि मज्झिमेना अथि विषटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके
हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निकयं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना
लपि-

22 ते तष तषा अथषा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) षे षाया अत
किञ्चि अ-

23 समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) *iyam dhama-lipi Dev[ānampriya]nā [P]iyadasinā⁵ lajinā likhāpitā athi*
yevā sukhi-

20 *tenā⁶ [a]thi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite⁷ (C) mahālake*
hi vi-

21 *jite bahu cha likhite lekhaṭpeshāmi cheva nikayaṁ (D) athi chā hetā puna pun[ā]⁸ la[p]i-*

22 *t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shāyā⁹*
ata k[i]chhi a-

23 *samati likhite dishā vā shamkheye¹⁰ kālanam vā alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena vā*

¹ *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāye* (Dhauḷi, R) or *mahāpāy[e]* (Jaugada, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asampatīpati*; the preceding word *mahā-phale* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauḷi, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugada.

² *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning as *spa[ka]* (=Skt. *svaka*) at Shāhbāzgarhi, and as *sarasaka* at Gīrnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

³ For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁴ *uyāma* is synonymous with *utthāna* and *parākrama* in the rock-edicts VI and X.

⁵ *dashinā* Bühler.

⁶ Gīrnār reads *samkhītena*.

⁷ The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

⁸ *punam puna* Bühler.

⁹ Read *shiyā*, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable *shā* is entered above the line.

¹⁰ Read probably *shamkhāya* in accordance with the Gīrnār version (*sachhāya*) and the Shāhbāzgarhi one (*samkhay[a]*).

(A) These rescripts on *morāṇy* *priya Priyadarsin* either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at *sun* *...*

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly¹ cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,² or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.³

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

- 1 (A) अय भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखपितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरभितु प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कठव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयसि देवणप्रिअ प्रिअद्रशि रय दखति
- 2 (E) अस्मि पि च एकातिअ समये ससुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो (F) गुा महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रणयतसहसति अरभियिसु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद अय
- 3 भ्रमदिपि लिखित तद चयो वो प्रण हंजंति मजुर दुवि २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो नं ध्रुवं (H) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरभिशंति

¹ Senart and Bühler consider *nikyam* a dialectical variant of *nityam*.

² *dis* is used in the sense of *dāśa*, unless *dishā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Girnār rock *desan*.

³ Cf. the similar labels at Girnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhauri (at the end of edict VII) see above, p. 27, n. 2.

- 1 (A) [aya]¹ dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raño likhapitu² (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi Devanapriy[e]³ Priadraśi ray[a da]khati
- 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia⁴ samaye sasu-mate⁵ Devanapiasa⁶ Priadraśisa raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa⁷ Priadraśisa raño anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani⁸ [arabhi]yis[u] supaṭhay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya
- 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa haṁṇaṁt[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[m] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiśaṁti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

3 (A) सव्रच विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षित ये च अंत यथ चोड
4 पंडिय सतियपुत्रो केरडपुत्रो तंबपंणि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अंजे तस
अंतियोकस समंत रजनो सव्रच देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षित रजो दुवि २
चिकिस क्रिट मनुशचिकिस . . पशुचिकिस च

5 (B) ओषधनि मनुशेपकनि च पशेपकनि च यच यच नस्ति सव्रच हरपित च
वुत च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुशनं

3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[naṁ]priyasa Priyadraśisa y[e] cha [a]ṁta yatha [Choḍa]

4 Paṁḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro⁹ Tambapaṁpi¹⁰ Aṁtiyo[k]o nama Yona-
raja ye cha aṁṇe tasa Aṁtiyokasa samaṁta¹¹ rajano savratra Devanaṁ-
priyasa Priyadraśisa raño du[vi] 2 chik[i]sa [kr]i[ṭa]¹² manuśa-chikisa . .
pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]

5 (B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni¹³ manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra
harapita¹⁴ cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]ḡaye paśu-manuśanaṁ

¹ [a]ya[m] Böhler.

² Read probably *likhapita*, as at Mānsehrā.

³ *doshaṁ sama . . sa Devanapriy[o]* Böhler.

⁴ *cha ekatie* Böhler.

⁵ Read *sadhu-*; *sresta-mati* Böhler.

⁶ **priasa* Böhler.

⁷ *Devanampri* Böhler.

⁸ *[-sa]has[r]ani* Böhler.

⁹ *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Böhler.

¹⁰ **paṁni* Böhler.

¹¹ *kṛ[tra]* Böhler.

¹² *[o]shudh[ā]ni* Böhler.

¹³ *har[o]pita* Böhler.

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputra, the Kēra, aputra, Tāmraparṇi, the Yōna king named Antiyoka, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज अहति (B) बद्यवषभिसितेन अणपितं
(C) सवच मच्च

6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो
करण इमिस धंमनुशस्तिये थ अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष
मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं ब्रमणश्चमणनं प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु

7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अणपेशंति हेतुतो च
वंजनतो च

5 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raja ahati (B) badaya-vashabh[i]si[tēna]¹
[a]napi[tam]² (C) savatra ma[a]³

6 vijite yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka⁴ pañcha]shu pañchashu 5 vasheshu anusaṁyanam
nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhraṁmanuśastiye [tha]⁵ añaye pi
krammaye⁶ (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrusha mitra-samst[u]ta-ñatikanam
brahmaṇa-śra[maṇa[nam]] [pra]ṇanam [anaram]bho sadhu⁷

7 apa-vayata apa-bhaṁḍata sadhu (E) pari⁸ [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi⁹ aṇapeśamti hetuto
cha vaññanato¹⁰ cha

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks¹¹ (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

¹ With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badāsa*-. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II. 203 f., and ZDMG, 73. 227.

² Bühler omitted this word.

⁴ *pradeśik*[e] Bühler.

⁶ *kramaye* Bühler.

⁸ Read *parisha*.

³ Bühler omitted *maa*.

⁵ Read *yatha*; *dhraṁmanuśasti yatha* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted the end of this line.

⁹ There is a vacant space between *ga* and *ṇa*.

¹⁰ *vaññanato* Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *hahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रतं अंतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वढितो वो प्रणरंभो विहिस च भुतनं
जतिन असंपटिपति अमणब्रमणनं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिस रजो
- 8 ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो ध्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जोतिकंधनि अजनि
च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतप्रुवे
तदिशे अज वढिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरंभो
प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपति ब्रमण-
- 9 ऋणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं ध्रमचरणं
वढितं (E) वढिशति च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमचरणं इमं
(F) पुत्र पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो
प्रवदेशंति यो ध्रमचरणं इमं अवकप ध्रमे शिले च
- 10 णिठिति ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि सेठं क्रमं यं ध्रमनुशशनं (H) ध्रमचरणं
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अथूस वढि अहिनि च सधु
(J) ए.ये अठये इमं निपिस्तं इमिस अठस वढि युर्जंतु हिनि च म लोचेषु
(K) बदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन रज जनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikratam antaram bahuni vasha-śatani vadhito vo prañarambho vihisa cha
bhuta[na]m ñatina¹ asaṃpaṭipati śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] a[sam]paṭipati²
(B) [so aja Devana]ṃpriyasa Priyadrasisa [raño]
- 8 dhrama-charaṇena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanaṃ
[a]stina³ joti-kamdhani añani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadisam
bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vadhite Devanaṃpriyasa
Priyadrasisa raño dhraṃmanuśa[sti]ya anarambho praṇa[naṃ] avihiṣa
bhutanaṃ ñatina[m] saṃpa[ṭi]pati⁴ [bra]maṇa-
- 9 śramaṇana⁵ saṃpaṭipati mata-pitushu vuḍhana[m] suśrūsha (D) e[ta] añam cha
bahuvividhāṃ dhrama-charaṇam vadhitam (E) vadhiśati cha yo Devanaṃpriyasa
Priyadrasisa raño dhrama-charaṇam⁶ ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kaṃ⁷ nataro

¹ ñatinam Bühler.⁴ sa[ṃ]paṭi² Bühler.⁷ ku Bühler.² [asaṃ]paṭi² Bühler.⁵ śramaṇanam Bühler.³ [ha]stino Bühler.⁶ -charaṇo Bühler.

cha pranatika cha **Devanāmpriya[sa] Priyadrasīsa raño** pra[va]dh[e]śamti¹
 [yo]² dhrama-charaṇam ima[m] ava]-kapa³ dhrame śile cha
 10 tiṭṭhi⁴ dhramam anuśāśisamti (G) eta h[i] s]reṭham k[r]ama[m] yaṁ
 dhraman[u]śāśana[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoti aśilasa (I) so
 imisa athrasa vaḍhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭhaye ima[m] nipistam⁵ imisa
 aṭhasa vaḍhi yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]ju (K) badaya-vashabhisitena⁶
Devanāmpriyena Priyadrasīna raña ṇanam hi[da] nipesitam⁷

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) And also the sons,⁸ grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,⁹ (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve¹⁰ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jñāna*) was caused to be written here by **king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

¹ ra[ño vadhe]śamti Bühler. ² Bühler omitted yo. ³ -[kapaṁ] Bühler. ⁴ tiṭṭhi Bühler.

⁵ dipista Bühler. ⁶ Read badaśa-, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

⁷ raña [id]am . . nam dipa[pi]tam Bühler. The da of hida looks like dam, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

⁸ For cha kam see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsehrā has once cha kam (XI, 14) and twice cha ka (IV, 16; XIII, 13).

⁹ The participles nipistam and nipesitam in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsi, must be derived from *ni-pish*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian писать 'to write'.

¹⁰ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलणस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्रं (E) तं मअ पुच च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच वक्षंति अवकपं तथ ये अनुवटिशंति ते सुकिटं कषति (F) यो चु अतो . . कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकाटं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतप्रुव धंममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन
- 12 मय धममहमच किट (J) ते सवप्रषंडेषु वपट धंमधिषनये च धमवडिय हिदसुखये च धमयुतस योनकंबोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु वमणिभेषु अनयेषु वुडेषु हितसुखये धंमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते
- 13 (L) वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुव . . प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इअ वहिरेषु च नगरेषु सवेषु ओरोधनेषु भतुन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अंजे जतिक सवच वियपुट (N) ये अयं धमनिशिते ति व धमधिषने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मअ धमयुतसि वियपट ते धममहमच (O) एतये अठये अयि धमदिपि निषिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवततु
- 11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati¹ (B) ka[la]ṇa[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]ṇasa so du[ka]raṁ karoti (D) so maya bahu kalaṁ² ki[t]raṁ (E) taṁ maa³ putra cha nataro cha para[m] cha [tena y]e⁴ me apacha vṛakṣaṁti⁵ ava-kapaṁ tatha⁶ ye an[u]vaṭiśaṁti⁷ te s[u]kiṭa[m]⁸ kashaṁti (F) yo chu ato . . kaṁ⁹ pi hapeśadi¹⁰ so dukataṁ kashati (G) papaṁ h[i] sukaraṁ (H) sa atikrataṁ atara no¹¹ bhuta-pruva dhraṁma-ma[ha]ma[tra]¹² nama (I) so **todaśa-vashabhisitena**¹³
- 12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa¹⁴ (J) te savra-praśaṁdesh[u] vapaṭa dhraṁmadhithanaye¹⁵ cha dhrama-vaḍhiya¹⁶ hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa **Yona-Kamboya-Gaṁdharanaṁ**¹⁷ **Raṭhikanaṁ**¹⁸ **Pitinikanaṁ** ye

¹ aha ti Bühler.² Read *kalaṇaṁ*.³ ma[ha] Bühler.⁴ [ya] Bühler.⁵ [a]chhaṁti Bühler. In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharōṣṭhī uses a special form of *chh* in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit *ksh*. In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh*, I transcribe it by *ksh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.⁶ *tathaṁ* Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānsehrā.⁷ *vaṭiśaṁti* Bühler.⁸ *sukiṭ[r]aṁ* Bühler.⁹ Restore perhaps *ekaṁ*; the other versions read *desaṁ* or *deśa*.¹⁰ [hapeśati] Bühler.¹¹ *so atik[raṁ]taṁ ataraṁ* na Bühler.¹² *dhrama*-Bühler.¹³ [todaśa]-Bühler.¹⁴ *kiṭ[r]a* Bühler.¹⁷ The rock has a hole here.

va pi aparanta (K) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-
sukhaye [dhraṃ]ma-yutasa¹ apalig[o]dha² vap[a]ta te

- 13 (L) badhana-badhasa³ paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba...⁴
prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake⁵ va viyapaṭa⁶ [t]e⁷ (M) ia bahireshu cha
nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna⁸ cha me spasana⁹ cha ye va pi
amñe ñatika savatra viyapaṭa (N) y[e] ayaṃ¹⁰ dh[r]ama-niṣite¹¹ ti va
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata¹² vijite maa¹³ dhrama-
yu[ta]si¹⁴ viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi¹⁵ dhrama-dipi
nipista¹⁶ ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha]¹⁷ cha [m]e¹⁸ p[r]aja anuvatatu.

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who
shall come¹⁹ after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will
conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
(G) For sin is easily committed.
(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)
anointed thirteen years.
(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting
morality, and for the welfare and happiness²⁰ of those who are devoted to morality
(even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, among the Rāṭhikas, among
the Pitinikas,²¹ and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

¹ [dhra]ma- Bühler.

³ badhana- Bühler.

⁵ mahalaka Bühler.

⁸ bhratunam Bühler.

¹⁰ yaṃ iyaṃ Bühler.

¹³ ma[ha] Bühler.

¹⁵ ay[am] Bühler.

¹⁷ This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.

¹⁸ Bühler omitted me.

¹⁹ vrakshati is the future of vrachati which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhi (VI, L, and XIII, S).

For Prakṛit vachchāi = Skt. vrājati see Hēmachandra, IV, 225.

²¹ For Rāṭhika and Pitinika Gīrnār reads Rīṣṭika and Pēṭenika. As Lāṭhika at Dhaulī agrees with Rāṭhika at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā, Rīṣṭika at Gīrnār may be a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭika, just as parikamate for parākamate in X, l. 3, Devinaṃ for Devānaṃ in XI, l. 1, and dūti for dūtā in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, astā is written for asti in IX, l. 7, pitarā for pitari in XI, l. 2, and vivādhāya for vividhāya in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit original of Rāṣṭika would be Rāṣṭrika. The identifications of this name with Surāṣṭra (Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or Lāṭa (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Aśoka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāṣṭrika with Mahārāṣṭra, the Pāli form of which, Mahārāṭṭha, occurs in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*. Could the Rāṣṭrikas be identical with the Ārattas of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ἀράττιοι who are mentioned in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the Ἀπαχόριοι and Γαρδάριοι?

² b[odhe] Bühler; read °godhaye (= °godhāya at Gīrnār).

⁴ Restore anubadha; iyaṃ a[n]uba[dh]am Bühler.

⁶ viyapaṭra Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted te.

⁹ Read spasuna; spasunam Bühler.

¹¹ -niṣite Bühler.

¹² savatra Bühler.

¹⁴ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ dipist[a] Bühler.

²⁰ Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).¹

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.²

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिक्रतं अंतर न भुतप्रुवं सवं कलं अठक्रमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सवं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनस्मि यभगरस्मि व्रचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनंस्मि सवच पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अठू करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व अचक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निजति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे

15 (E) सवच च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अचक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे संतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवच सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतरिणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एच उयनं अठसंतरिण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतरं

6 सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं व्रचेयं इस च ष मुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि ध्रम निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तय च मे पुच नतरो परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अजच अये परक्रमेन

14 (A) Devanaṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya eva³ ahati (B) atikrataṃ āmtara⁴ na bhuta-pruṇaṃ sava[m]⁵ kala[m] aṭha-kramaṃ⁶ va paṭivedana va (C) ta[m] maya eva[m] kiṭa[m] (D) savraṃ kalaṃ aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka⁷ aṭhaṃ janasa paṭivedetu⁸

¹ *paligodha* is a Māgadha form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

² See above, p. 34, n. 3.

³ *eva[m]* Bühler.

⁴ *āmtaraṃ* Bühler.

⁵ *savraṃ* Bühler.

⁶ *aṭha-* Bühler.

⁷ *savatra paṭi-* Bühler.

⁸ *paṭ[ṛ]i-* Bühler.

me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa aṭh[r]a karomi (F) ya[m̐] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato
aṇapayami a[haṃ] dapa[ka]¹ va śravaka² va ye³ va p[a]na mahamatrana⁴
a[cha]yika⁵ a[ro]pitaṃ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de]⁶ nijha[t̐]i va satam̐⁷
parishaye anam̐tariyena paṭivedetavo me

15 (E)⁸ savatra cha aṭham̐⁹ janasa karomi a[haṃ] (F) yaṃ cha kichi¹⁰ mukhato
aṇapemi ahaṃ dapaka[m̐] va śravaka va ye¹¹ va pana mahamatranam̐
achayi[k̐]am̐ aropita[m̐] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v̐]ivade sa[m̐]tam̐ nijati¹² va
parishaye anam̐tariyena paṭivedetavo¹³ me savatra savam̐¹⁴ kala[m̐] (G) eva¹⁵
aṇapita[m̐] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭha-sa[m̐]tiraṇaye [cha]
(I) kaṭava-mataṃ¹⁶ hi me sava-loka-hitaṃ¹⁷ (J) ta[sa cha] mulam̐ etra uthanam̐
aṭha-sam̐tiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r̐]amatara[m̐]

16 sava-loka-hite[na]¹⁸ (L) yaṃ cha kichi parak[r̐]amami kiti bhutanam̐ anaṇiyam̐
v[r̐]acheyam̐ ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagam̐¹⁹ aradhetu (M) etaye
aṭhaye ayi dhrama²⁰ nipista²¹ chira-thitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro
parakramam̐tu sava-lo[ka-hita]ye (N) [du]kara²² tu [kh]o imam̐ aṇat[r̐]a²³
agre²⁴ parakramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports
at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and)
anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in
the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amend-
ment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering
verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the
Mahāmātras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of
business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

¹ [da]pakam̐ Bühler.

² śravakam̐ Bühler.

³ yaṃ Bühler.

⁴ *tranam̐ Bühler, who added v[o].

⁵ There is a fissure between a and cha.

⁶ Bühler added va.

⁷ sam̐tam̐ Bühler.

⁸ E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.

⁹ There is a vacant space between a and ṭham̐.

¹⁰ There is a fissure between ki and chi.

¹¹ ya Bühler.

¹² Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.

¹³ paṭri^o Bühler.

¹⁴ sav[r̐]am̐ Bühler.

¹⁵ evam̐ Bühler.

¹⁶ There is a hole between ma and tam̐.

¹⁷ sav[r̐]a- Bühler.

¹⁸ s[r̐]ava- Bühler.

¹⁹ spagam̐ Bühler.

²⁰ Read dhrama-dipi.

²¹ dipista Bühler.

²² [d]ukara[m̐] Bühler.

²³ aṇṇatra Bühler.

²⁴ Read agrena.

the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI :

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवच इच्छति सव-
- 2 प्रषंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयमे भवशुधि च इच्छति
- 3 (C) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सव व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कषंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि किट्टजत द्रिढभतित निचे पढं

- 1 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyaśi³ raja savatra ichhati savra-⁴
- 2 [p]rashaṁḍa vaseyu (B) save⁴ hi te sayame⁵ bhava-śudhi cha ichhamti
- 3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhaṁdo uchavucha-rago (D) te savraṁ va eka-deśaṁ va
- 4 pi kashaṁti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
- 5 śudhi kiṭṭaṇata driḍha-bhatita⁶ niche paḍham

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock (continued).

- 17 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) अच सुगय अजनि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि अभुवमु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज दशवषभिसितो सतं निक्रमि सबोधि (D) तेनद धंमयच (E) अच इयं होति अमणब्रमणनं द्रशने दनं बुढनं दशन हिरजप्रटिविधने च जनपदस जनस दशन धमनुशस्ति धमपरिपुद्ध च ततोपयं (F) एषे भुये रति भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भगो अंजि

¹ *sha* (*she* at Mānsēhrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, *nāni* at Gīrnār and *kāni* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 149) derived it from Skt. *śhām*, and translated it by ' (some) of them '.

² This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.

³ Read *Priyadarśi*.

⁴ *savre* Bühler.

⁵ *sayama* Bühler.

⁶ *didha*. Bühler.

- 17 (A) atikratam ataram¹ Devanampriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha ediśani² abhiramani abhuvasu³ (C) so Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raja daśa-vashabhisito satam⁴ nikrami Sabodhi⁵ (D) tenada⁶ dhramma-yatra⁷ (E) atra iyam hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanam draśane danam vuḍhana[m] daśana⁸ hiraṇa-p[r]aṭivīdhane⁹ cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana¹⁰ dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha¹¹ cha tatopayam (F) eshe¹² bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti¹³ Devanampriyasa Priyadraśisa raño bhago¹⁴ amñi

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Dēvānāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
 (C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.¹⁵
 (E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अवधे अवहे विवहे पजुपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिक च निरठियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अच इम दसभटकस सम्मपटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च ध्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुचेन पि भतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसस्तुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अठस निवुटिय निवुटस्सि व पुन
- 20 इमं कषं (I) ये हि एतके मगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन ध्रममंगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अथ परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमंगलेन

¹ atikratnam amtarām Bühler.² [h]ediśani Bühler.³ abhavasū Bühler.⁴ sato Bühler.⁵ sabodhi[m] Bühler.⁶ tenadā[a] Bühler.⁷ dhrama- Bühler.⁸ draśane Bühler.⁹ -paṭivīdha[ne] Bühler.¹⁰ draśanam Bühler.¹¹ -pa[ri]p[ru]chha Bühler.¹² eśh[a] Bühler.¹³ hoti Bühler.¹⁴ bhag[i] Bühler.¹⁵ See above, p. 37, n. 5.

- 18 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadrasī r[a]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavuchaṃ maṃgalaṃ karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye¹ añaye cha ediśiy[e]² jano ba³ maṃgalaṃ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṃ cha putika⁴ cha nirāṭhiyaṃ⁵ cha maṃgalaṃ karo[ti]⁶ (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]⁷ kho maṃgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta⁸ (F) imaṃ [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṃgala⁹
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati¹⁰ garuna apachiti praṇaṇaṃ sa[m]jyamo¹¹ śamaṇa-bramaṇa¹² dana etaṃ añāṃ cha dhrama-maṃga[laṃ] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana¹³ pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena¹⁴ ava prativēsiyena imaṃ sadhu [imaṃ]¹⁵ kaṭa[vo] maṃgala[m] yava tasa aṭhresa¹⁶ nivuṭiya nivuṭaspi va p[u]na¹⁷
- 20 imaṃ kashaṃ¹⁸ (I) ye hi etake¹⁹ magale saśayike²⁰ taṃ (J) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna²¹ no²² (K) ialoka cha²³ vo taṃ²⁴ (L) ida²⁵ puna dhrama-magalaṃ akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e]²⁶ ia²⁷ atha paratra anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ ṭhaṃ²⁸ nivaṭeti tato u[bha]y[e]sa²⁹ ladhaṃ bhoti ia³⁰ cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṃgalena³¹

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,³² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive³³ and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

¹ Read *etaye*, which is Bühler's reading.

² Read probably *ediśaye*, as at Mānsehrā.

³ Read *bahu*.

⁴ *putika[m]* Bühler.

⁵ *nirāṭhiyaṃ* Bühler.

⁶ *ka[rotne]* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted *va*.

⁸ *etaṃ* Bühler.

⁹ Read *dhrama-*; *-maṃgala[m]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *-paṭipati* Bühler.

¹¹ *saṃjyama* Bühler.

¹² *śramaṇa-* Bühler.

¹³ Read *bhratuna*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹⁴ *-saṃstutena* Bühler.

¹⁵ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ *aṭhresa* Bühler.

¹⁷ *pana* Bühler.

¹⁸ *ke[sha]* Bühler.

¹⁹ *et[ra]ke* Bühler.

²⁰ *sa[m]śayike* Bühler.

²¹ *pana* Bühler.

²² Bühler omitted *no*.

²³ *ialokach[e]* Bühler.

²⁴ *tithe* Bühler.

²⁵ *iya* Bühler.

²⁶ Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānsehrā.

²⁷ *[h]ia* Bühler.

²⁸ Read *taṃ aṭhaṃ*; Bühler read *[a]ṭhaṃ* for *taṃ ṭhaṃ*.

²⁹ *ubhayasa* Bühler.

³⁰ *iha* Bühler.

³¹ Read *dhrama-maṃgalena*.

³² For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

³³ Instead of *pūtika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.

(I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) But if¹ one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किट्टि व नो महठवह मज्जति अज्जच यो पि यशो किट्टि व इच्छति तदत्वये अयति य च जने धम्ममुश्रष सुश्रुषतु मे ति धम्मवुतं च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किट्टि व
22 इच्छति (C) यं तु किचि परक्कमति देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सव्वं परचिकये व किति सकले अपरिस्रवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिस्रवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु खो एषे खुद्रकेन वयेन उसटेन व अज्जच अयेन परक्कमेन सव्वं परितिजितु (F) अज्ज च उसटे

- 21 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raya yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahatthavaha majjati añatra yo pi yaśo kiṭṭi va ichhati tadatvaye² ayatiya cha jane dhrama-suśrasha³ suśrushatu me ti dhramma-vutaṃ cha anuvi[dhi]yatu (B) etakaye Devanapriye⁴ Priyadraśi raya yaśo⁵ kiṭṭi va
22 ichhati (C) ya[m] tu kichi parakramati Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raya taṃ sav[r]aṃ paratrikaye va kiti sakale aparisrave siyati (D) eshe tu parisrave yaṃ apuṇaṃ (E) dukare⁶ [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usaṭena va añatra agrena parakramena sava[m] paritijitu (F) at[r]a⁷ chu usaṭe

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

¹ Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

² tadattaye Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

³ Read -suśrushaṃ.

⁴ Devanāmpriye Bühler.

⁵ Bühler added va.

⁶ dukaraṃ Bühler.

⁷ etaṃ (which is also possible) Bühler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं धमदन
धमसंस्तवे धमसंविभगो धमसंबंध (C) तच्च एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं अमणब्रमण
24 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
मिचसंस्तुतन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं
इअलोक च अरधेति परच च अनतं पुज प्रसवति

25 तेन धमदनेन

- 23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṃ hahati¹ (B) nasti ed[i]śaṃ danaṃ
yadiśaṃ dhrama-dana² dhrama-saṃstav[e] dh[r]ama-saṃvibhago dh[r]ama-
samba[m]dha³ (C) tatra etaṃ dasa-bhaṭakanāṃ saṃmma-paṭipati⁴ mata-pitushu
suśrūṣa mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-ñāṭikanāṃ śramaṇa-bramaṇa⁵
24 dana praṇaṇa⁶ anara[m]bho (D) etaṃ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi
[spa]mikenā⁷ pi 'mitra-saṃstutana⁸ ava prativeśiyena [i]ma[m]⁹ sadhu imaṃ
kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] ialoka¹⁰ cha a[ra]dheti paratra cha anataṃ puṇa¹¹
prasavati
25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ *aha ti* Bühler.

² *-danam* Bühler.

³ *-sambandho* Bühler.

⁴ *samma-praṭipati* Bühler.

⁵ *-bramaṇanam* Bühler.

⁶ *danam praṇanam* Bühler.

⁷ *[sa]mikenā* Bühler.

⁸ Read *-saṃstutena*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁹ There is a fissure in the rock here.

¹⁰ *karamāṇam ialoka[m]* Bühler.

¹¹ *puṇam* Bühler.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सवप्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सवप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध
(D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषं-
- 4 ड तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति
(G) तद अज्जथ करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षणति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं
गरहति सवे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं वढतरं
उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अजमजस भ्रमो
- 7 श्रुण्येयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सवप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च
कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तच्च तच्च
- 8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति
सलवढि सियति सवप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट भ्रममहमच्च इस्त्रिधियक्षमहमच्च वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस
फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भोति
- 10 भ्रमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) Devanaṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya savra-praśaṃḍani pravrajita[ni]¹
grahathani² cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha
[da]na³ va puja va
- 2 Devanaṃpriyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi siya savra-praśaṃḍanaṃ
(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yaṃ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-praśaṃḍa-puja va pa[ra]-paśaṃḍa-garana va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi⁴
lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[ṇ]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-praśa[m]-
- 4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ⁵ ata-p[r]aśaṃḍaṃ vaḍheti
para-praśaṃḍaṃsa⁶ pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha⁷ ka[ra]min[o]⁸
ata-p[r]aśaṃḍa]⁹

¹ This word was entered above the line; *pravrajita* Bühler.

² *graha[tha]ni* Bühler.

³ *dana[m]* Bühler.

⁴ *aprakaraṇasi* Bühler.

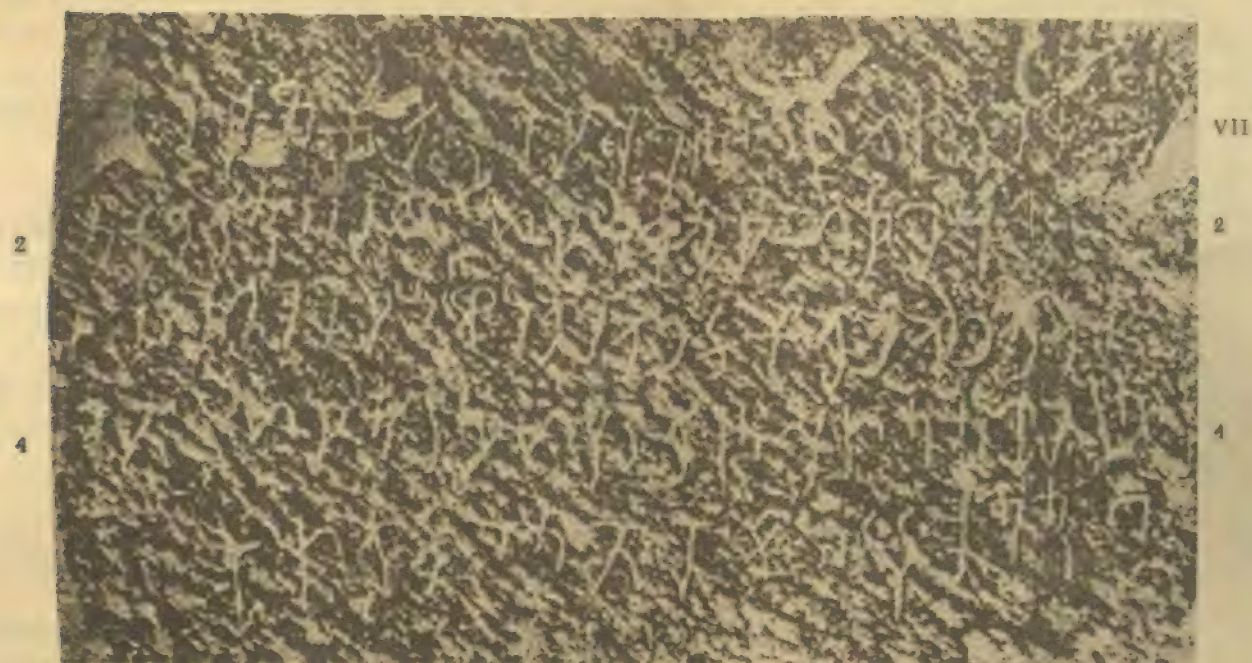
⁵ *kara[m]taṃ* Bühler.

⁶ Read *dasa*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ Read *tad-añatha*.

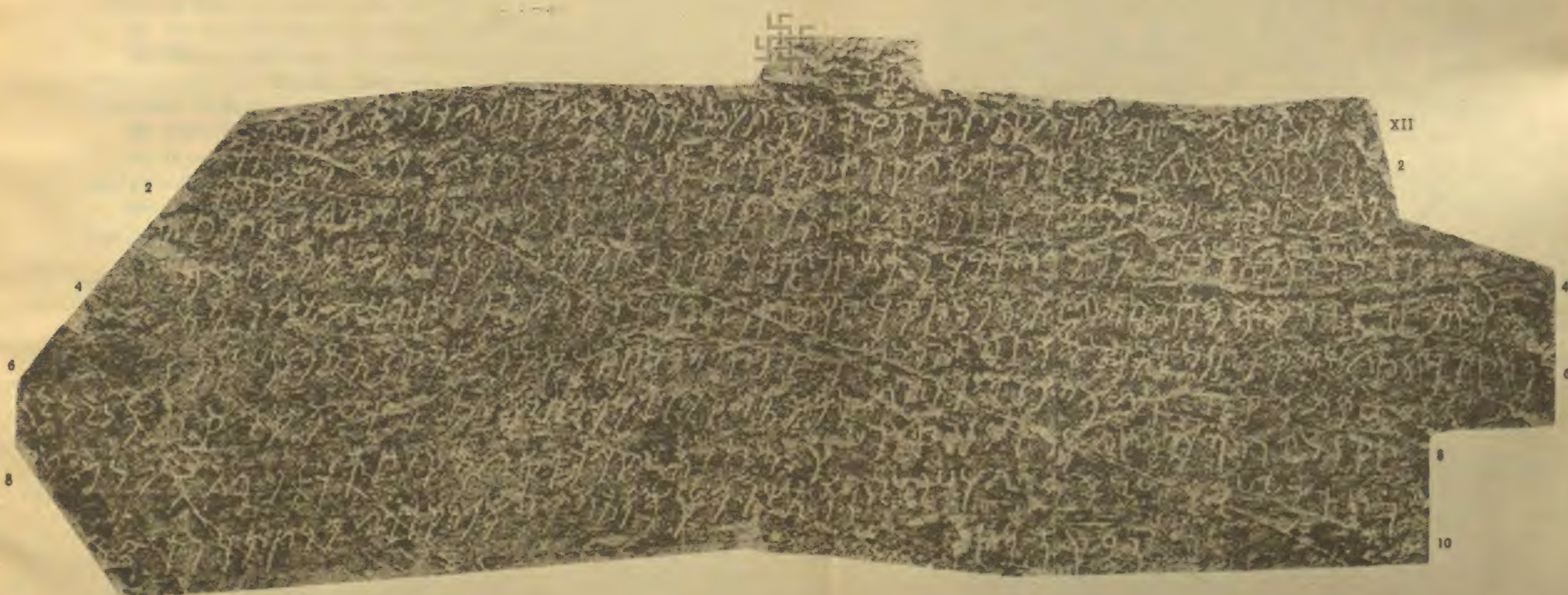
⁸ *ka[rata]cha* Bühler.

⁹ *-praśaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

SEE PAGE 59



SCALE ONE-SIXTH

- 5 kṣhaṇati para-[pra]śaḍasa¹ cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi² ata-prashaḍam pūjeti
[para]-p[r]aśaḍa[m]³ garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti
- 6 ata-prashaḍam dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamam so cha puna tatha
karatam⁴ ba[dhata]ram upahanti ata-prashaḍam (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti
añamañasa dhramo
- 7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evam hi Devanāmpriyasa ichha kiti savra-
prashaḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[aṇa]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra
- 8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanāmpriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m] va] p[u]ja va
mañati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashaḍanam (M) bahuka cha etaye
a[tha] . . .⁵
- 9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[stidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika⁶ añe
cha nikaye (N) imam cha etisa [pha]lam yam ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi⁷ [bh]o[ti]
- 10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects : (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control⁸ alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.⁹

¹ -prashaḍasa Bühler.

² k[o]chi Bühler.

³ -prash[a]ḍa Bühler.

⁴ Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

⁵ Restore *athaye*.

⁶ *vacha*- Bühler.

⁷ -prashaḍa- Bühler.

⁸ Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

⁹ For *siyati* see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBĀZGARHI

C.—West face of Shāhbāzgarhī rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो कलिंग विजित (B) दिअढमचे प्रणशतसहस्रे ये ततो अपवुडे शतसहस्रमचे तच हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिंगेषु तिवे ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति कलिंगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तच वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनप्रियस (G) ये तच
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व अमण व अंजे व प्रषंड यहय व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 अतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति द्रिढभतित तेष तच भोति अपयथो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मिचसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तच तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सवमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्मि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमचो जनो तद कलिंगे हतो च मुटो च अपवुड च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इक्षति हि देवनप्रियो सवभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लधो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यच अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकमुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्मि योनकंवोयेषु नभकनभितिन

- 10 भोजपित्तिनिकेषु अंध्रपलिदेषु सवच देवनंप्रियस धमनुशस्ति अनुवदंति (S) यच पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न वचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस धमवुटं विधनं धमनुशस्ति धमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिंशंति च (T) यो स लधे एतकेन भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लध भोति प्रिति धमविजयस्सि (V) लहुक तु खो स प्रिति (W) परच्चिकमेव महफल मेज्जति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अटये अयि धमदिपि निपिस्स किति पुच पपोच मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविस्स मज्झिषु स्पकस्सि यो विजये स्संति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मज्जतु
- 12 यो धमविजयो (Y) सो हिदल्लोकिको परल्लोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य धमरति (AA) स हि हिदल्लोकिक परल्लोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa¹ Devana]pri[a]sa. Pri[a]drasisa ra[ñño] Ka[liga] vi[ji]ta (B) diḍḍha-mat[r]e² prañña-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]³ m[uṭṭe]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]cha⁴ a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu⁵ tivre dhrama-śilana]⁶ dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana⁷ Devanap[ria]sa vijinīti Kaliga[ni]⁸
- 3 (E) avijitaṃ [hi vi]jīnamano yo⁹ tat[r]a vadha¹⁰ va maraṇaṃ va apavaho va janasa taṃ baḍḍhaṃ v[e]dani[ya]-ma[taṃ] guru-mata[m] cha Devanaṃpriyasa (F) idaṃ¹¹ pi chu [tato] guru-matataṃ [Devanaṃ]priyasa (G) ye tatra¹²
- 4 vasati¹³ brahmaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]hā va prashaṃḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita esha agrabhuṭi-sūsruṣa mata-pitushu sūsruṣa guruna¹⁴ sūsruṣa mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-
- 5 ṇātikeshu dasa-bhaṭṭakanaṃ samma-pratipa[ti] diḍḍha-bhaṭṭita¹⁵ tesha¹⁶ tatra bhoṭi [a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṃ (H) yesha va pi suvihitanaṃ¹⁷ [si]ho¹⁸ aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-ṇātika vasana
- 6 prapūṇati [ta]tra taṃ pi tesha vo apagratho¹⁹ bhoṭi (I) pratibhagaṃ cha [e]taṃ savra-manuśanaṃ²⁰ guru-mataṃ cha Devanaṃpriya[sa] (J) nasti cha ekatare²¹ pi prashaḍaspi²² na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada Kalige [ha]to cha muṭ[o] cha apav[ud]ha²³ cha tato
- 7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṃ va [a]ja guru-mataṃ v[o] Devanaṃpriyasa (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va²⁴ Devanaṃp[r]iyasa yaṃ śako kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha aṭavi Devanaṃpriyasa vijite bhoṭi ta pi anuneti anunijapeti²⁵ (N) anutape pi cha prabhava

¹ a[sta]- Bühler.² [diyadha]- Bühler.³ Bühler omitted va.⁴ [pa]chha Bühler.⁵ [Kaligeshu] Bühler.⁶ [paṇanaṃ] Bühler.⁷ n[am] Bühler.⁸ priyasa vijinīti[u Ka]liṅga[ni] Bühler.⁹ man[i ye] Bühler.¹⁰ vadh[o] Bühler.¹¹ imaṃ Bühler.¹² tatra h[i] for ye tatra Bühler.¹³ vasaṃti Bühler.¹⁴ gurunam Bühler.¹⁵ diḍḍha- Bühler.¹⁶ teshaṃ Bühler.¹⁷ saṃvi^o Bühler.¹⁸ Read sineho; [ne]ho Bühler.¹⁹ Read apagratho, which is Bühler's reading.²⁰ savraṃ manu^o Bühler.²¹ ekataraspi Bühler.²² prashaṇḍaspi Bühler.²³ apavudh[o] Bühler.²⁴ vo Bühler.²⁵ Read nijaḥpeti, which is Bühler's reading.

- 8 **Devanāṃpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (O) ichhati hi **D[e]vanāṃpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamam sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye (P) ayi¹ cha mukha-mut[a]² vijaye **Devanāṃpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho **Devanāṃpriyasa** iha cha saveshu³ cha amteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra **Am̐tiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** param cha tena **Atiyok[e]na**⁴ chature 4 rajani **Turamaye** nama **Am̐tikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṇḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapam[ñi]ya**⁵ (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi⁶ **Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu** **Nabhaka-Nabhitina**⁷
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitinikeshu** **Am̐dhra-Palideshu**⁸ savatra **Devanāṃpriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvaṭam̐ti (S) yatra pi **Devanāṃpriyasa** duta na vracham̐ti te pi śrutu **Devanāṃpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭam̐ vidh[a]nam⁹ dhramanuśasti dhramam̐ [a]nuvidhiyam̐ti anuvidhiyīśam̐[ti] cha (T) yo [sa]¹⁰ ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati **Devana[m]priyo** (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi¹¹ dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]¹² kiti putra papotra me asu navam̐ vijayam̐ ma vijetav[i]a¹³ mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e ksham̐]ti cha lahu-da[m]data¹⁴ cha rochetu tam̐ cha yo¹⁵ vija¹⁶ maña[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati¹⁷ bhotu ya [dh]ramma-rati¹⁸ (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvānāṃpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,¹⁹ to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāṃpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāṃpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāṃpriya**.

¹ *eshe* Bühler.

² *-mute* Bühler.

³ *sa[vre]shu* Bühler.

⁴ *Am̐tiyokena* Bühler.

⁵ *paṇiniya* Bühler.

⁶ *Visha-Vajri-* Bühler.

⁷ *Nabhake Na[bh]itina* Bühler.

⁸ *-Pulī[de]shu* Bühler.

⁹ *vidhenam̐* Bühler.

¹⁰ *[cha]* Bühler.

¹¹ *ayo* Bühler.

¹² *[dī]pista* Bühler.

¹³ **tavi[ya]m̐* Bühler.

¹⁴ *-dam[da]tam̐* Bühler.

¹⁵ *tam̐ e[va]* Bühler.

¹⁶ Read *vijayam̐*, as at Kālsī.

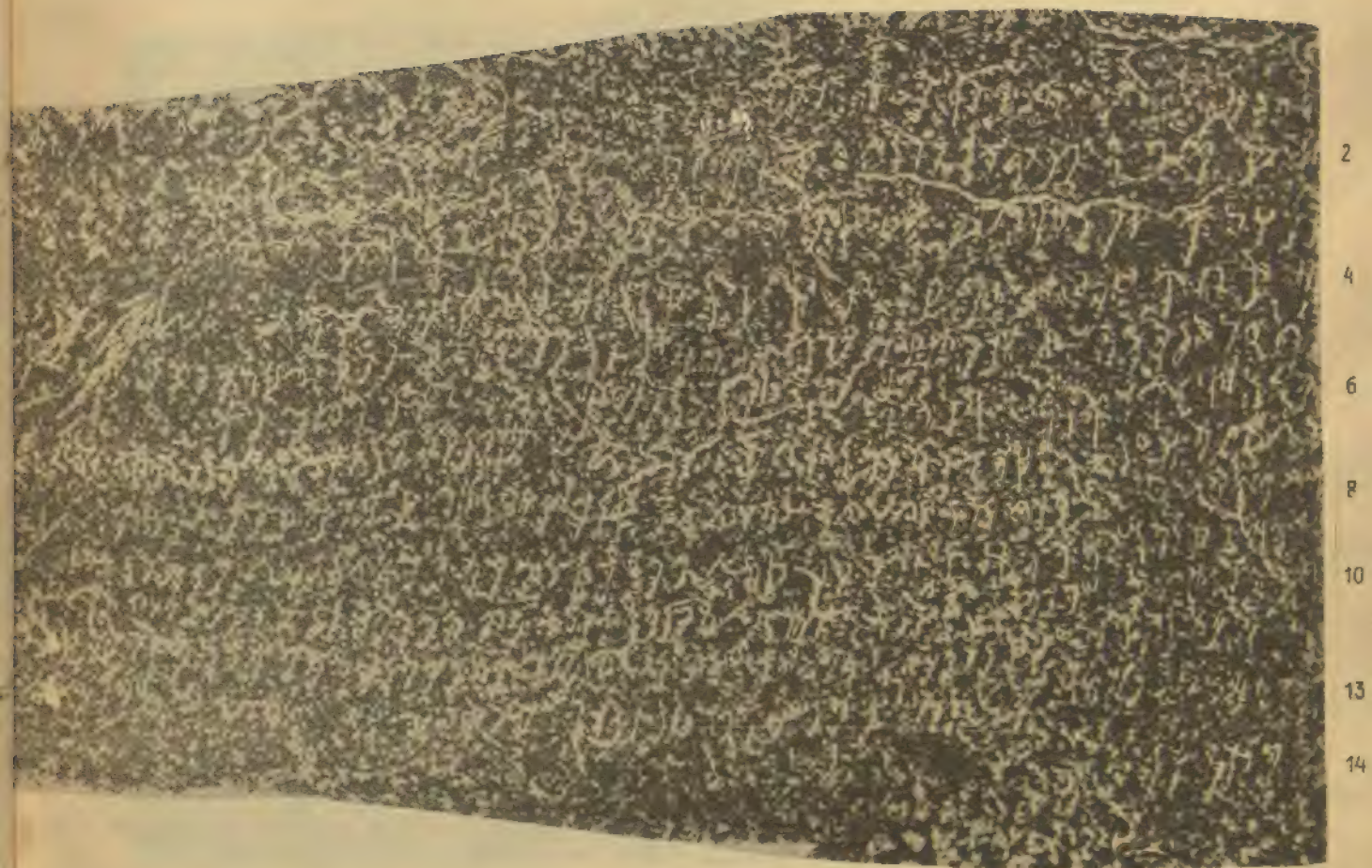
¹⁷ *savra cha nirati* Bühler.

¹⁸ *[s]rama-* Bühler.

¹⁹ *dhrama-śilana* (= Skt. *dharmā-śilana*) is the equivalent of *dharmavāyo* at Gīrnār; see above,

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI

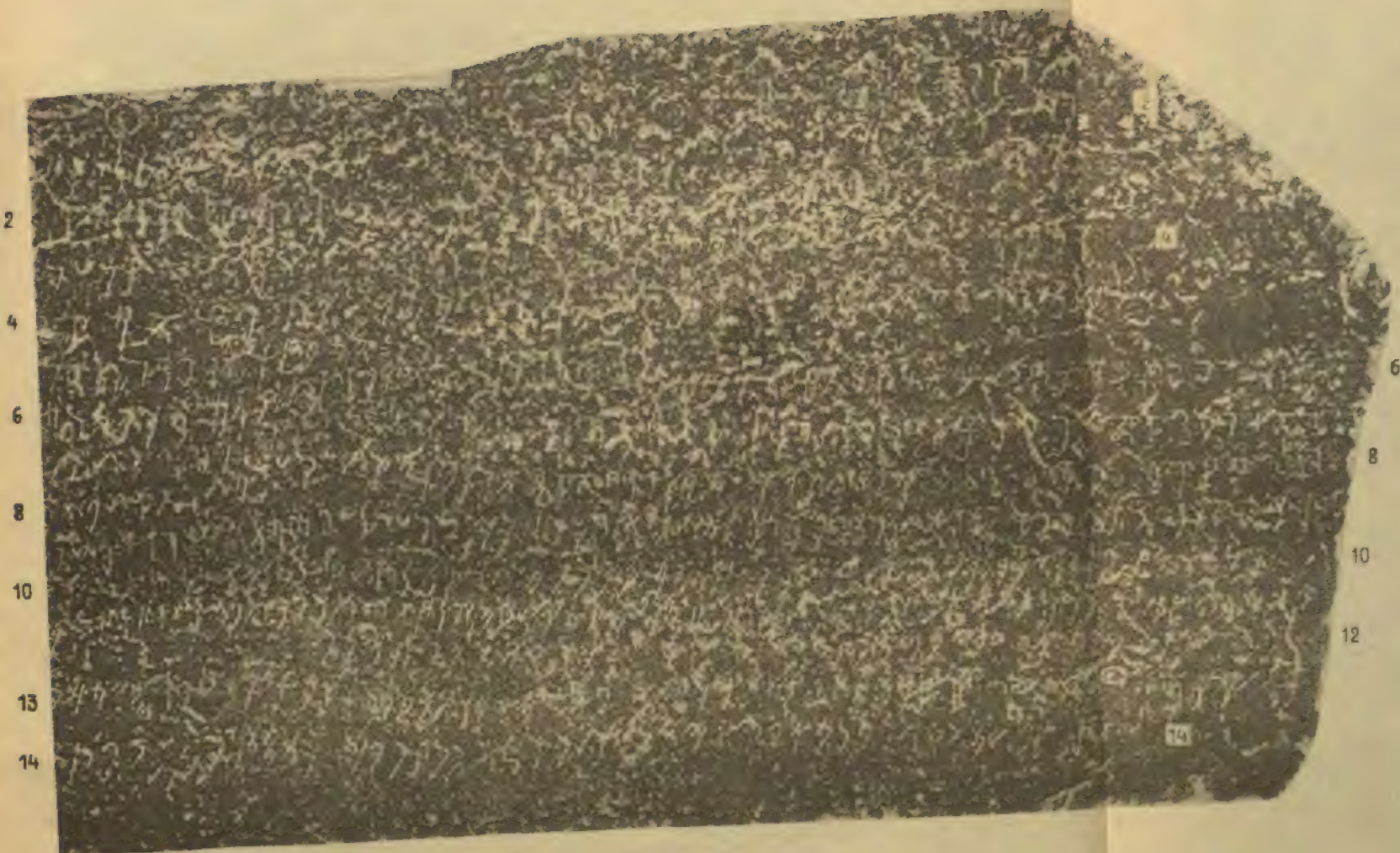
LEFT HALF



SCALE ONE-NINTH

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI
RIGHT HALF

BETWEEN PAGES 68 AND 69



SCALE ONE-NINTH

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury¹ or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in Kalinga, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.

(L) And Dēvānāmpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests³ which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya, even those he pacifies (and) converts.⁴

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Dēvānāmpriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,⁵ in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For Dēvānāmpriya desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.⁶

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one⁷ by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality.

¹ 'The meaning of *apagratho* is fixed by the various readings *upaghāte* (Kālsī) and *upaghāto* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *himsita*; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granth*.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 174.

² 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.

³ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 174 f.), the nom. plur. *aṭavi* is used in the sense of *āṭavikāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasaṃgrahadīpikā*, § 59, is मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति, 'the tribunes (i. e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'

⁴ Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* (or *nijhapayitave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nijhap[e]ta[vī]ye* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, R, and *nijhati* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where Aśōka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 471) rendered *anutape prabhave* (i. e. *anutāpē prabhāvē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutāpa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anusaya* or *anusōchana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhave* = Skt. *prabhavēt*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-eyati*; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

⁶ I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914. 851. The Girnār and Kālsī versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasyē*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

⁷ *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauriyā-Arārāj and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly¹ by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) **four—4—kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇi**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,¹ among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,²—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,³ they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims), which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 13 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिणिन रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन
अस्ति यो विस्त्रितेन (B) न हि सवच ससवे गटिते (C) महलके हि विजिते
बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस
तस अठस मधुरियये येन जन तथ
- 14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण
व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

¹ The Kālsī version reads *Nābhapaṃti* for *Nabhiti*.

² See above, p. 48, n. 14.

³ Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsī and Mānsehrā differs here. Unless the *Shāhbāzgarhi* reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛit substantive *chatti* = Skt. **tyakti* in the sense of *tvāga*.

- 13 (A) aṃi¹ dhrama-dipi² Devanāṃpriyena Priśi[na]³ raña nipesapita⁴ asti vo saṃkshitenā⁵ asti yo vistriṭena (B) na hi savatra⁶ sasavre⁷ gaṭite⁸ (C) mahalake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśāmi cheva (D) asti chu⁹ atra puna puna [la]pitaṃ tasa tasa [a]ṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha
- 14 paṭipajeyati¹⁰ (E) so siya va atra kiche¹¹ asamataṃ likhitaṃ deśaṃ va saṃkhay[a]¹² karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written¹³ by king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.¹⁴

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,¹⁵ or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

A.—First Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन् रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किछि जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-
- 2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्ति पि चु
- 3 एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-
- 4 जिने अनुदिवस बहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपय्ये (G) से द अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मजु-
- 5 र एके म्रिगे से पि चु म्रिगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो अरभि

¹ ayo Bühler.

² There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*.

³ Read *Priyadrasina*.

⁴ *dipapito* Bühler.

⁵ *saṃkshitenā* Bühler.

⁶ *savatra* Bühler.

⁷ Read *savre*; [*so*] *savre* Bühler.

⁸ Read *ghaṭite*; *ghaṭiti* Bühler.

⁹ *cha* Bühler.

¹⁰ *praṭi* Bühler.

¹¹ Read *kichi*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹² *saṃkhaye* Bühler.

¹³ With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitaṃ* in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict IV, K.

¹⁴ With the optative *paṭipajeyati* (= *°yāti* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa) cf. *apakareyati* (XIII, l. 7), *nivapeyati* (IX, l. 20), and *siyati* (= *siyāti* or *shiyāti* at Kālsi); see above, p. 40, n. 1.

¹⁵ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

- 1 (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] Devana[m]priye[na] ¹ Priya[draśina rajina li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi ² ji[ve] ara[bhita] pra[johi]-
- 2 taviye ³ (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye ⁴ (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa Devana[m]priye] Priyadraśi raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]
- 3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa] ⁵ rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]si [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-
- 4 jine anudiva[sa ba]huni praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arab]hiṣu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e].....[da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ṇa]ni [ara]bh[iya]nti du[v]e [2] maju-
- 5 ra [e]k[e] ⁶ m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i chu] mrig[e] no dhruva[m] (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini] praṇani pacha no ara[bhi].....

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 5 (A) सवच विजितसि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षि रजिने ये च अत अथ
- 6 चोड पंडिय सतियपुच केरलपुच तंबपणि अतियोगे नम योनरज ये च अ.....स
.....गस समत रजने सवचप्रियस प्रियद्रक्षि रजिने
- 7 दुवे २ चिकिस कट मनुशचिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढनि मनु.....कनि
च प.....कनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च
- 8 (C) एवमेव मुलनि च फलनि च अच अच नस्ति सवच हरपित च रोपपित च
(D) मगेषु रुहनि रोपपितनिपितनि पठिभोगये पशु-
मुनिशनं
- 5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitasī Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa rajine ye cha ata ⁷ atha
- 6 [Choḍa] Pa[m̐di]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra ⁸ [Taṁ]bapaṇi [A]tiyoge ⁹
nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a]....sa.....[gasa] samata ¹⁰ ra[jane sa]vratra
.....priyasa Priyadraśisa rajine
- 7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ṭa manuśa-chik[isa cha] paśu-[chi]kisa 'cha (B) osha[dha]ni ¹¹
manu....ka[ni cha] pa....[kani cha atra atra ¹² nasti savra]tra [ha]rapi[ta
cha] ropapita] cha
- 8 (C) e[va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha
ro[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani ¹³ [ropa]pi[tani] ¹⁴ [pi]tani
paṭibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śana[m] ¹⁵

¹ [De]vana[pri]yena Bühler.² kichi Bühler.³ pra[yuho]taviye Bühler.⁴ sama[ja] kaṭaviya Bühler.⁵ [Pri]yadraśi[ne] Bühler.⁶ Bühler inserted the figure '1'.⁷ amta Bühler.⁸ °putr[e] Bühler.⁹ . tiyo[ke] Bühler.¹⁰ samanta Bühler.¹¹ osha[dhi]ni Bühler.¹² [ya]tra yatra Bühler.¹³ ru[chha] Bühler.¹⁴ The next symbol (read [ku] by Bühler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.¹⁵ -m[a]nuśana Bühler.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एव अह (B) दुवडशवषभिसेतेन मे इयं अणपयिते
(C) सव्रच विजितसि त रजु . . प्रदेशिके पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु
10 अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अणये इमये ध्रमनुशस्तिये यथ अजये पि क्रमणे
(D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुत-
11 जतिकनं च व्रमणश्चमणनं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु
(E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अणपयिशति हेतुते च वियंज-
12 नते च

- 9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[.a]śa-vashabhisetona¹
me iyañ² [aṇapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a vijitasi ta³ [ra]ju . . pradeśike
[pañ]chashu pañ[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]
10 anusa[m]yana[m] nikramatu⁴ etaye va⁵ athraye imaye dhramanuśastiye ya[tha]⁶
añaye⁷ pi krama[ṇe]⁸ (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[śrusha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-
11 ñatikanam cha bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m]⁹ sadhu dane praṇana [anara]bhe sadhu
apa-[va]yata apa-bha[ḍata] sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[ṇa]nasi
[aṇapa]yiśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yañja]-
12 nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वधिते वो प्रणरंभे विहिस च भुतनं जतिन
असपटिपति अमणव्रमणन असंपटिपति
13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोषे अहो धमघोषे
विमनद्रशन अस्तिने अगिकंधनि अजनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस
14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतप्रुवे तदिशे अज वढिते देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने
रजिने ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन जतिन
15 संपटिपति वमणश्चमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु सुश्रुष बुध्न सुश्रुष (D) एषे अजे
च बहुविधे ध्रमचरणे वधिते (E) वधयिशति येव देवनप्रिये
16 प्रियद्रशि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुच पि च क नतरे चं पणतिक देवनप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिने रजिने पवढयिशंति यो ध्रमचरण इमं अवकपं धमे शिले च

¹ Read °bhisitena.² ayañ Bühler.³ [me] . . ta Bühler.⁴ nikrama[m]tu Bühler.⁵ vañ Bühler. What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in *ja* (ZDMG, 43. 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in *ḍa* (XIII, 10), *ḍha* (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), *ta* of *mata* (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), *tha* (II, 5; V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and *pa* (XII, 5).⁶ ya . añ Bühler.⁷ añaye Bühler.⁸ kramañ Bühler.⁹ -śramaṇanam Bühler.

- 17 चिठितु ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एषे हि सेठे अं ध्रमनुशशन (H) ध्रमचरणे पि च
न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अयूस वध्रि अहिनि च सधु (J) एतये
- 18 अयूये इयं लिखिते एतस अयूस वध्र युजंतु हिनि च म अलोचयिसु (K)
दुवदशवषभिसितेन देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रजिन इयं लिखपिते
- 12 (A) atikratam̐ ata[ram̐]¹ bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo² praṇaram̐[bh]e vihi[sa]
cha bhutanam̐ ñatina asapa[t]ipati śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana³ asa[m̐]paṭipati
- 13 (B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadrasīne rajine dhrama-[cha]ra[ne]na bheri-
ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe⁴ vimana-draśana asti[ne]⁵ agi-kamdhan[i] añā[ni
cha] di[vani] rupani draśeti janasa
- 14 (C) [a]diśe bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]ja vadhite [De]vana-
priyasa Priyadrasīne rajine dhramanuśastiya anarabhe praṇana⁶ avihisa
bhutana ñatina
- 15 sam̐paṭipati bamaṇa-śramaṇana⁷ sa[m̐]paṭipati mata-pitushu⁸ suśru[sha] vudhrana
[su]śrusa (D) eshe añ[e] cha bahuvide dhrama-charaṇe vadhrite (E)
vadhraiśati yeva Devanapriye
- 16 Priyadrasī raja dhama-[cha]raṇa⁹ ima[m̐]¹⁰ (F) [putra] pi cha ka¹¹ natore cha
paṇatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadrasīne¹² rajine pavaḍhayiśam̐ti yo¹³ dhrama-
charaṇa imam̐ [a]va-kapaṁ dhrame śile cha
- 17 [chi]t̐hitu¹⁴ dhra[maṁ] anu[śa]śiśam̐ti (G) eshe hi sreṭhe a[m̐] dhramanuśaśana
(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhri
ahi[ni cha] sadhu (J) etaye
- 18 athraye i[yaṁ]¹⁵ li[khi]te e[ta]sa [athra]sa vadhra¹⁶ yu[jam̐]tu hini cha ma
[alo]chay[i]su¹⁷ (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priya-
draśina rajina iya[m̐] likhapite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 19 (A) देवनप्रियेन प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) ये अदिकरे कयणस
से दुकरं करोति (D) तं मय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मअ पुच च
- 20 नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपतिये मे अवकपं तथ अनुवदितति से सुकट कषति
(F) ये चु अच देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति
- 21 (G) पपे हि नम सुपदरवे (H) से अतिक्रतं अंतरं न भुतप्रुव ध्रममहमच नम (I)
से चेदशवषभिसितेन मय ध्रममहमच कट (J) ते सवपषडेष
- 22 वपुट ध्रमधियनये च ध्रमवध्रिय हिदमुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंबोजगधरन
रठिकपितिनिकन ये व पि अजे अपरत (K) भटमये-

¹ a[m̐]ta[ram̐] Bühler.² vadhite vam̐ Bühler.³ -bramaṇanam̐ Bühler.⁴ dhrama-goshe Bühler.⁵ hastine Bühler.⁶ praṇanam̐ Bühler.⁷ -śramaṇana[m̐] Bühler.⁸ matu- Bühler.⁹ dhrama- Bühler.¹⁰ ima Bühler.¹¹ ku Bühler.¹² Devanam̐priyasa Priyadrasīne Bühler.¹³ Bühler omitted yo.¹⁴ [ti]stitu Bühler.¹⁵ i[maṁ] Bühler.¹⁶ Read vadhri.¹⁷ anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.

- 23 शु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनपेषु वुधेषु हिदसुखये भ्रमयुतअपलिबोधये वियपुट ते (L)
बधनबधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये च इयं
- 24 अनुबध प्रज ति व कट्टभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिद बहिरेषु
च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसुन च
- 25 ये व पि अजे जतिके सव्रच वियपट (N) ए इयं भ्रमनिशितो तो व भ्रमधिषणे
ति व दनसंयुते ति व सव्रच विजितसि मअ भ्रमयुतसि वपुट ते
- 26 भ्रममहमच (O) एतये अणूये अयि भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तण च मे
प्रज अनुवटतु

- 19 (A) De[vanam]priyena¹ Priyadraśi raja eva[m] aha (B) kalaṇa[m] dukara[m]
(C) ye adikare kayaṇasa se dukaraṇ karoti (D) taṁ maya bahu [ka]jyaṇe
[ka]ṭe (E) [ta]m ma[a] putra [cha]
- 20 natar[e] cha² para³ cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]paṁ tatha anuvaṭisati⁴ se
sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeṣati se dukaṭa kashati
- 21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave⁵ (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva
dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-
mahamatra kaṭa (J) te savra-pa[sha]ḍesha⁶
- 22 vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa
Yona-Kaṁboja-Gadharana⁷ Raṭhika-Pitinikana⁸ ye va pi aṇe aparata (K)
bha[ṭa]maye-
- 23 shu bramaṇibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye]⁹ dhrama-yuta-
apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye
mokshay[e] cha iyaṁ
- 24 anubadha p[r]aja¹⁰ t[i] va kaṭrabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te (M)
hida¹¹ bahreshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana¹² cha
spas[u]na [cha]
- 25 ye va pi aṇe ṇatike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyaṁ dhrama-niśito to¹³ va
dhramadhithane ti va dana-saṁyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-yutasi
vaputa [te]
- 26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika hotu
tatha¹⁴ cha me praja anuvaṭatu

¹ Read °priye, which is Bühler's reading.

² Bühler omitted cha.

³ param Bühler.

⁴ tatham anuva[ṭ]isati Bühler.

⁵ supadare v[a] Bühler.

⁶ Read °deshu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ -Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

⁸ Raṭrakra- Bühler. The second symbol (ṭhi) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāz-gaṛhi, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like kaṁ; but the apparent Anusvāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the ka of chira-ṭhitika, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

⁹ hidam- Bühler.

¹⁰ paja Bühler; ja looks like ju.

¹¹ hidam Bühler.

¹² Read bhatuna.

¹³ -niśiti ti Bühler; read ti for to.

¹⁴ tatham Bühler.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अञ्ज (B) अतिक्रतं अतरं
 27 न हुतप्रुवे सव्रं कल अणूक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किटं (D) सव
 कलं अणतस मे ओरोधने यभगरसि वचस्पि विनितस्पि उयनस्पि सवच
 पटिवेदक अणू जनस
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवच च जनस अणू करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखतो
 अणपेमि अहं दपकं व श्रवकं द ये व पुन महमचेहि अचयिके अरोपिते
 होति
 29 तये अणूये विवदे निजति व संत परिषये अनतलियेन पटिवेदेतविये मे
 सवच सव कल (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषे उठनसि
 अणसंतिरणये च
 30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस चु पुन एवे मुले उठने अणूसतिरण
 च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रममि अञ्जं
 किति भुतनं
 31 अणणियं येहं इञ्ज च पे मुखयमि परच च स्पय अरधेतु ति (M) से एतये अणूये
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरटितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव-
 32 लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अजच अयेन परक्रमेन

- 26 (A) Devanapriye¹ Priyadraśi raja [e]va[m] aa² (B) atikratam ataram³
 27 na⁴ huta-pruve [sa]vram kala athra-[krama] va [pa]ṭivedana va (C) ta maya eva[m]
 kiṭam (D) savra kalam aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi
 uyanaspi savratra pa[t]i[ve]da[ka] athra janasa
 28 paṭivedetu me (E) savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi aham (F) ya[m] pi cha⁵
 kichhi⁶ mukhato⁷ aṇapemi aham dapakam va śravakam va ye⁸ va puna
 mahamatrehi achayike aropite⁹ hoti
 29 taye athraye vivade nijati¹⁰ va samta par[i]sha[ye] a[na]taliyena paṭivedetaviye¹¹
 me savratra savra kala (G) eva[m] aṇapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe
 [uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye cha
 30 (I) kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane
 athra-satiraṇa cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[m] cha
 [kichhi]¹² pa[rakra]mami aam¹³ k[i]t[i] bh[u]tanam
 31 aṇaṇiyam¹⁴ ye[ham] ia cha she¹⁵ sukhayami paratra cha spagra¹⁶ a[ra]dhetu ti

¹ Devana[m]priye Bühler.² aha Bühler.³ atikraṇtam anītarām Bühler.⁴ n[o] Bühler.⁵ Bühler omitted cha.⁶ kichi Bühler.⁷ mukhato looks almost like mukhati, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ ya[m] Bühler.⁹ aropita Bühler.¹⁰ Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.¹¹ a[na]m]taliyena paṭiveditaviye Bühler.¹² [ki]chi Bühler.¹³ aham Bühler.¹⁴ aṇaṇiyam Bühler.¹⁵ sha Bühler.¹⁶ spagram Bühler.

(M) se etaye athraye iyaṁ dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ṭhitika¹ hotu ta[tha]²
cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate³ sa[vra]-

32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha⁴ kho [a]ñātra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सवच इच्छति सवपषड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयम
भवशुधि च

33 इच्छंति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकेदेशं व पि कषति (E)
विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति किटनत द्रिढभतित च

34 निचे वटं

32 (A) Devanapriyo⁵ Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pashaḍa vaseyu (B)
savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]

33 [ichham]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade⁶ uchavucha-rage (D) te savraṁ eka-deśaṁ
va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme⁷ bhava-śuti⁸
kiṭanata driḍha-bhatita⁹ cha

34 niche baḍham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

34 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इअ खिगविय अजनि
च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि

35 रज दशवषभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सवोधि (D) तेनद ध्रमयद (E) अच इय होति
शमणव्रमणन द्रशने दने च वुध्नन द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च

36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने ध्रमनुशस्ति च ध्रमपरिपुछ च ततोपय (F) एवे भुये रति
होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस

37 रजिने भगे अये

34 (A) a[ti]krataṁ ataraṁ¹⁰ Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia¹¹
mrigaviya añani cha eḍiśani abhiramani husu (C) s[e] Devanap[r]iy[e]
P[r]iyadraśi

35 raja daśa-vashabhisite saṁta[r]iṁ nikrami Sabodhi¹² (D) tenada dhrama-yada¹³

¹ -ṭhitikaṁ Bühler.

² tathāṁ Bühler.

³ °mate Bühler.

⁴ chu Bühler.

⁵ °[priye] Bühler.

⁶ -chade Bühler.

⁷ sayame Bühler.

⁸ Read -śudhi.

⁹ driḍha- Bühler.

¹⁰ anītaraṁ Bühler.

¹¹ i[ka] Bühler.

¹² sambodhi Bühler.

¹³ tenad[am] dhrama-yadra Bühler. What looks like an Anusvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of da, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.

(E) atra iya hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇana¹ dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana² dra[śa]ne
[cha hi]ñā-paṭivi[dhane³ cha]

36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramanuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puṭha cha tatopaya

(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadrasīsa

37 rajane bhage aṇe

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति
- 2 अबधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्मि एतये अजये च एदिशये जने
- 3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु अबकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरथिय
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो
- 4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एपे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये ध्रममगले (G) अत्र
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिति
- 5 प्रणन सयमे अमणब्रमणन दने एषे अणे च एदिशे ध्रममगले नम (H) से
वतविये पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
- 6 मिचसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अथूस
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कषमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले
- 7 शशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अथं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से
(L) इयं पुन ध्रममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अथं नो निवटेति हिद
अथ परच
- 8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अथं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरधे होति
हिद च से अथे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadrasī raja evaṃ aha (B) jane uchavucha[m ma]gala[m]
karoti
- 2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]śa[ye
jane]
- 3 bahu maṅga[la[m ka]ro[t]i (C) atra tu abaka-janika⁴ bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda
cha nirathriya cha magala[m karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva⁵ kho
- 4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iya[m chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-
magale⁶ (G) atra iya[m dasa-bhaṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i
- 5 pra[ṇa]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramaṇana [dane] eshe aṇe cha ediśe dhrama-magale
nama (H) se vataviye pi[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna⁷ pi spamikena pi
- 6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iya[m sadhu iya[m kaṭaviye magale ava tasa
athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]shami ti⁸ (I) e hi [i]tare⁹ maga[le]

¹ śramaṇa- Bühler.

⁴ balika for abaka- Bühler.

⁷ bhatuna Bühler.

² vadhrana Bühler.

⁵ cha for [ch]eva Bühler.

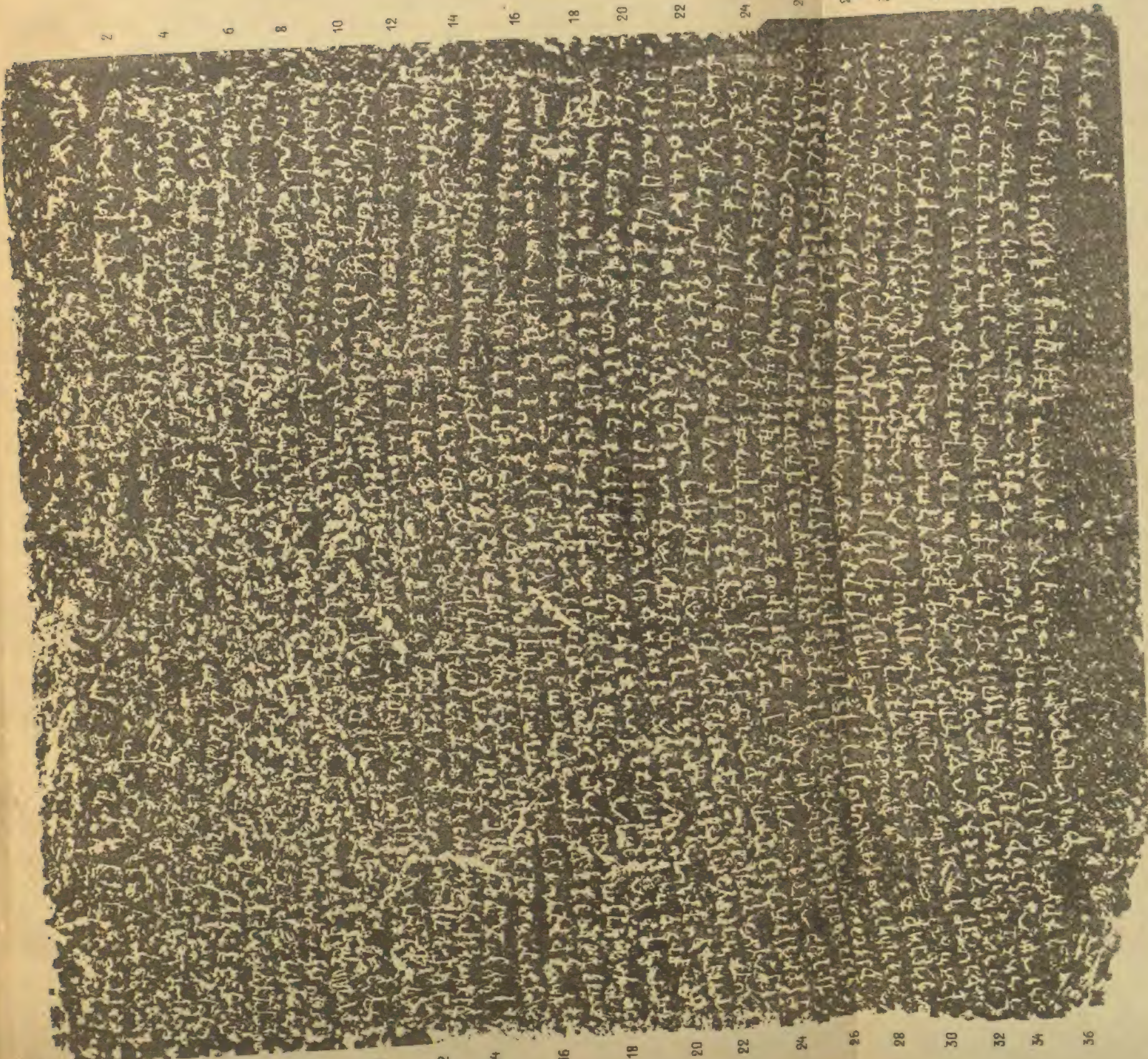
⁸ k[e]sh[a]miti Bühler.

³ Read hiraṇa-

⁶ -maṅgale Bühler.

⁹ [a]trake Bühler.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

- 7 śa[śa]yike se (J) s[i]ya va taṁ athraṁ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no (K) hida[o]kike
cheva se¹ (L) iyaṁ puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi taṁ athraṁ
no² nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra
- 8 anata puṇa³ prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athraṁ⁴ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato
ubhayesaṁ [ara]dhe⁵ hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata⁷ puṇaṁ
prasavati tena dhramagalena⁸

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 9 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि व नो महयूवहं मज्जति अणच यं पि
यशो व किटि व इच्छति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने ध्रमसुश्रुष सश्रुषतु मे ति
- 10 ध्रमवुतं च अनुविधियतु ति (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज यशो व किटि
व इच्छति (C) किछि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज तं सव
परचिकये व किति
- 11 सकले अपपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुणे (E) दुकरे चु खो
एषे खुट्केन व वयेन उसटेन व अनच अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परितिजितु (F)
अच तु खो उसटेनेव दुकरे

- 9 (A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiṭi va no⁹ mahathravaham mañati
anatra yaṁ pi ya[śo va] kiṭi va ichhati tadatvaye¹⁰ ayatiya cha jane
[dhra]ma-suśrusha suśrushatu¹¹ me ti
- 10 dhrama-[vutaṁ cha]¹² anuvidhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi
raja yaśo va kiṭi va i[chha]ti (C) [k]ichhi¹³ parak[r]ama[ti] Devanapriye
Priyadraśi raja taṁ savraṁ parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]
- 11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]isav[e] siyati ti (D) eshe chu¹⁴ pa[r]isave e apu[ṇe]¹⁵ (E) dukare¹⁶
chu kho eshe khudakena¹⁷ [va va]gr[e]na [u]saṭena va ana[tra]¹⁸ a[gre]na
para[krame]na sav[raṁ] pariti[ji]tu (F) atra¹⁹ tu [kho] usaṭeneva du[ka]re²⁰

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) नस्ति एदिशे दने अदिशे ध्रमदने
ध्रमसंथवे ध्रमसंविभग ध्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एषे दसभटकसि सम्यपटिपति
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष

¹ i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha] vase Bühler.² na Bühler.³ an[am]taṁ puṇaṁ Bühler.⁴ [a] . ra Bühler.⁵ tato looks almost like tati.⁶ ubhayasa [va la]dhe Bühler.⁷ ana[m]ta[m] Bühler.⁸ Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.⁹ n[a] Bühler.¹⁰ tadattaye Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.¹¹ The syllable śru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.¹² Bühler omitted cha.¹³ [e tu] kichi Bühler.¹⁴ tu Bühler.¹⁵ [apu]ṇa[m] Bühler.¹⁶ dukaram Bühler.¹⁷ khudrakena Bühler.¹⁸ a[ṇa]tra Bühler.¹⁹ e . . Bühler.²⁰ usaṭena va duka[ra] Bühler.

- 13 मिचसंस्तुतज्जतिकन अमणवमणन दने प्रणन अनरभे (D) एषे वतविये पितुन
पि पुवेन पि भतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसंस्तुतेन अब पटिवेशियेन
- 14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च कं अरधे होति परच च
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमदनेन
- 12 (A) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evaṃ aha (B) nasti ediṣe dane [a]diṣe
dhrama-dane dhrama-saṃtha[v]e dhrama-saṃvibhaga¹ dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati² mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha
13 mitra-saṃ[stuta]-ñatikana śramaṇa-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [ana]rabhe³ (D)
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna⁴ pi spamike[na] pi mitra-
saṃ[stu]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena
14 iyaṃ sa[dhu] iyaṃ kaṭaviye⁵ (E) se tatha karata[m] hi[dalo]ke⁶ [cha] kaṃ⁷ aradhe
ho[ti]⁸ pa[ra]tra cha ana[m]taṃ puṇaṃ p[r]asavati te[na dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C.—South Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज सत्रपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहणनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रिये मज्जति अथ किति सलवडि सिय सत्रपषडन ति (C) सलवुडि तु
बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
- 4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अत्वपषड वढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)
तदंजय करतं अतपषड च छणति परपषडस पि च
- 5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केछि अत्वपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति सवे अत्व-
पषडभतिय व किति अत्वपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
- 6 वढतरं उपहंति अत्वपषड (I) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस ध्रमं श्रुण्येयु
च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इछ किति सत्रपषड बहुश्रुत च
- 7 कयणगम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तच तच प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो
तथ दनं व पुज व मणति अथ किति सलवडि सिय सत्रपषडन
- 8 (M) बहुक च एतये अणूये वपुट ध्रममहमच इस्त्रिजस्त्रमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
- 9 यं अत्वपषडवडि च भोति ध्रमस च दिपन

¹ °bhage Bühler.

² -[bha]ta . . sa sa[mya]-saṃpaṭipati Bühler.

³ anarāmbhe Bühler.

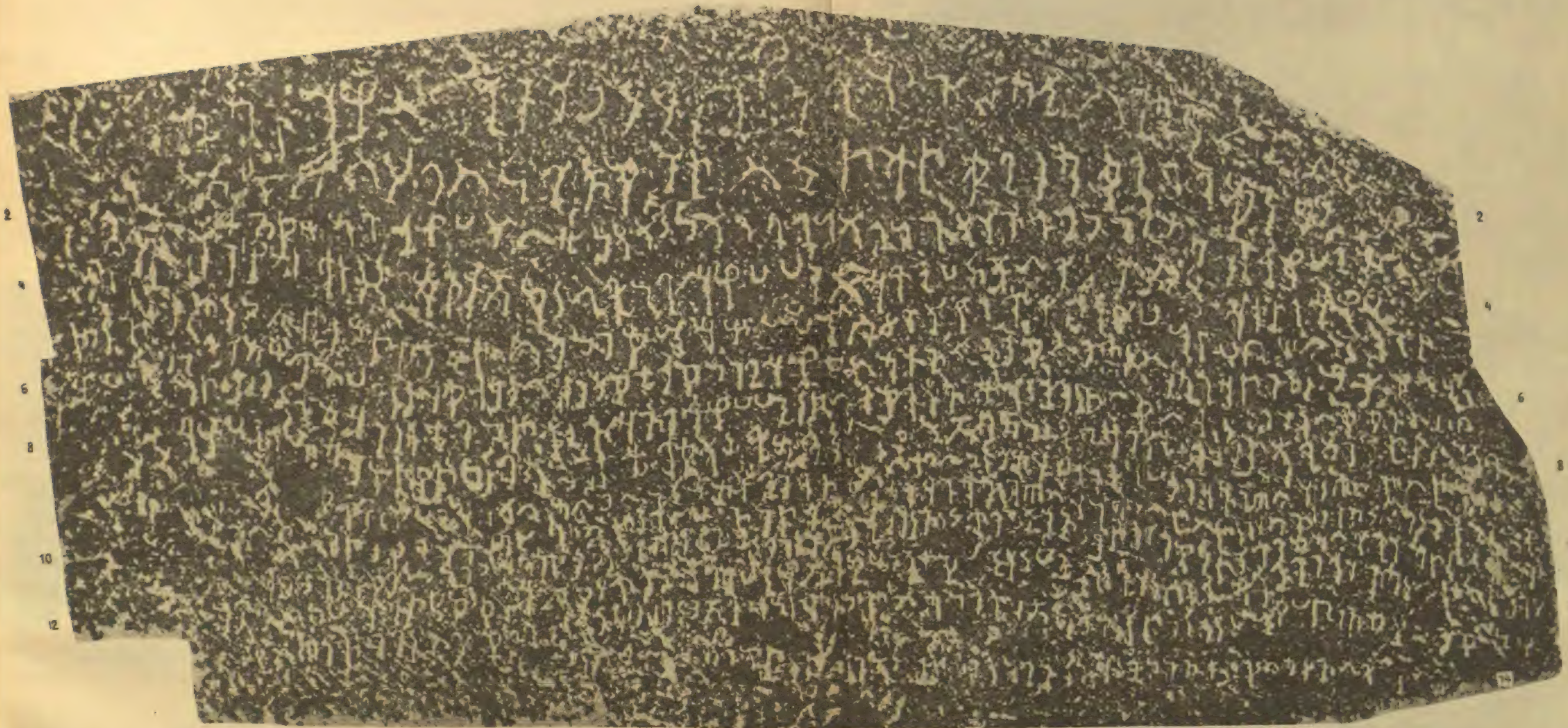
⁴ bhātuma Bühler.

⁵ kṛaṭaviye Bühler.

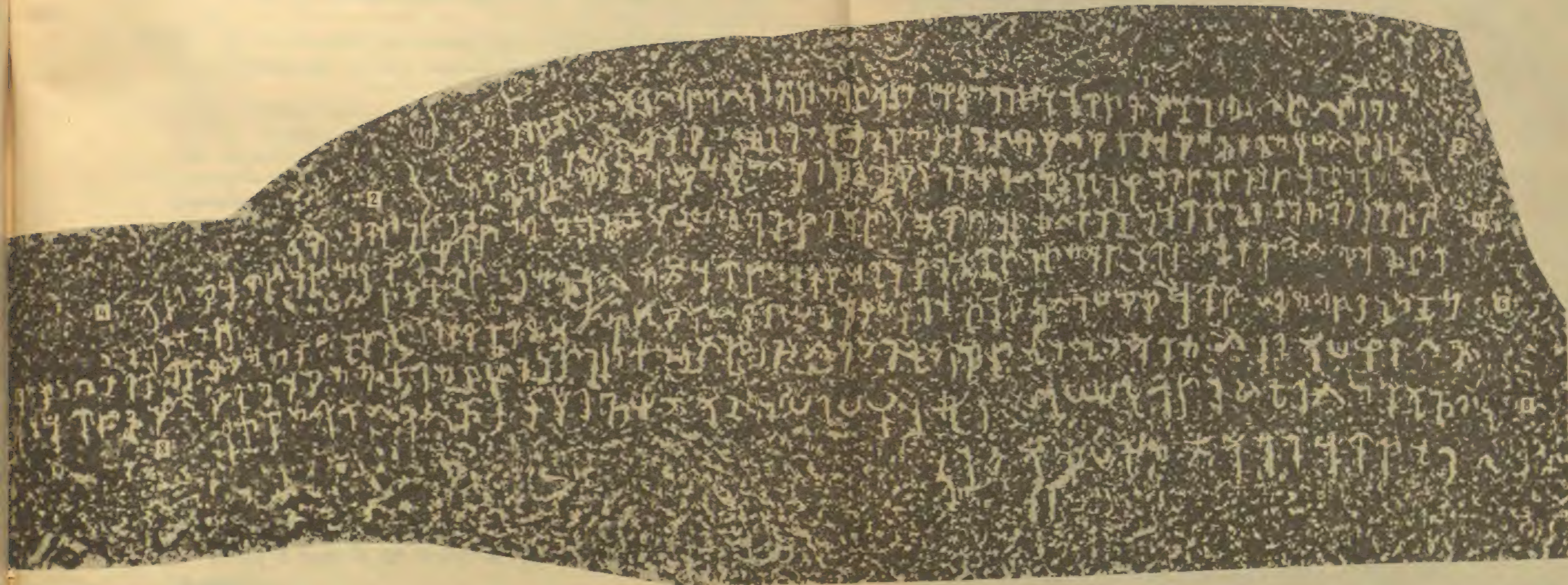
⁶ karaṃtaṃ hida . . ka Bühler.

⁷ [ku?] Bühler in foot-note 10.

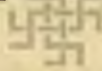
⁸ aradhe . . i Bühler.



TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA



- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja savra-pashaḍani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani¹ cha
pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye² (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va
- 2 [De]vana[m]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashaḍana ti (C) sala-
vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyañ mule añ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-garaha va no siya apakarañasi lahuka va
siya tasi tasi pakarañasi (E) pujeṭaviya va chu para-p[r]ashaḍa tena tena
- 4 akarena (F) evañ karatañ atva-pashaḍa³ baḍhañ vaḍhayati para-pashaḍasa pi cha
upakaroti (G) tad-aññatha⁴ karatañ ata-pashaḍa⁵ cha chhañati para-pashaḍasa
pi cha
- 5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi⁶ atva-pashaḍa pujeti para-pashaḍa va garahati savre
atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti puna tatha
karatañ
- 6 baḍhatarañ⁷ upahañti⁸ atva-pasha[ḍa] (I) se samavaye vo⁹ sadhu ki[ti] añañasa
dhramañ śruñ[e]y[u] cha suśrushe[yu] cha ti (J) evañ hi Devanapriyasa¹⁰
ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa bahu-śruta cha
- 7 kayañagama cha [hu]veyu¹¹ ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L)
Devanapriye no tatha danañ va puja[m] va mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya
savra-pashaḍa[na]
- 8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istrijañsha-mahamatra¹²
vracha-bh[u]mika aña cha nikay[e]¹³ (N) iyañ cha etisa phale
- 9 yañ atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana



THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT : MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषभिसित्तस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दियदमचे
प्रणशतस
- 2 मटे (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिन्ने भ्रमवये
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रि (D)
- 3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से बढं वेदनियमते गुरुमते च देवनप्रियस (F) इयं पि
चु ततो
- 4 येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुसुश्रुष मिचसंसु

¹ -prashaḍani pravrajitani gakhathani Bühler.² pujaya Bühler.³ Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *tva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.⁴ *tadaññatham* Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.⁵ *atma-* Bühler.⁶ *kechi* Bühler.⁷ *badhamtaram* Bühler.⁸ *hañti* looks like *añti*; *ha[na]ti* Bühler.⁹ *v[a]* Bühler.¹⁰ *Devana[m]priyasa* Bühler.¹¹ *haveyu* Bühler.¹² Read *istrijhaksha-*.¹³ *nikaya* Bühler.

- 5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येषं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए
तनं मिचसं
- 6 (I) एष सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से
जनपदे यच नस्ति इमे निकय अजच योनेषु व्रमणे च अमणे
पि जनपदसि यच
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद कलिगेषु हते च अपवुढे च
ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनंप्रियस (L)
पक मितवि
- 8 (M) .. पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति
अनुनिभूपयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष कि
..... (O) .. छ वनंप्रिय
- 9 (P) मुखमुते विजये देवनंप्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे
देवनंप्रियस हिद च सव्रेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु
तियोगे नम योनरज
- 10 अंते नम मक नम अलिकसुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंबपणिय (R)
एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंबोजेषु नभकनभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिकेषु
अधप
- 11 (S) यच पि दुत देवनंप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रमवुत विधनं
ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन
होति सव्रच विजये
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनंप्रिये (X) एतये च अथूये इयं ध्रमदिपि
लिखित किति पुच प्रपोच मे असु नवं वि तवियं मणिषु
सय
- 13 (Y) .. हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सव च क निरति होतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स
हि इअलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadrasīno rajīno [Ka]liga
[v]i[jita] (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e prāṇa-śata-sa]
- 2 [ma]ṭe (C) [tato] pacha¹ adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]jye
..... [dhra]manu[śa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] (D)
- 3 [marāṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [badham] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha
Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yaṁ [pi] chu tato
- 4 [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrusha mata-pi[tu]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrusha
mit[r]a-sa[m]stu

¹ *pachha* Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

- 5 [va]dh[e] va abb[iratanam] va vini[k]ramaṇi¹ (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vih[itanam]² si[ne]he avipahin[e³ e] ta[nam] mitra-[saṁ]
- 6 (I) [esha] savra-manuśanaṁ⁴ guru-mate cha Devanampriyasa (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[ña]tra Yoneshu [bramaṇe⁵ cha] śra[maṇe] pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra
- 7 na⁶ nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada Kaligesh[u] hate⁷ cha apavudhe cha ta[to]⁸ śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va⁹ aja guru-ma[te va] Devanapriya[sa] (L) pa[ka] [mi]tavi
- 8 (M) . . [pi cha] aṭavi Devanapriyasa¹⁰ vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]¹¹ (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhava Devanapriyasa¹² vuchati [te]sha¹³ [ki] (O) . . chha vanapri[y .]¹⁴
- 9 (P) [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[ə]vanapriyasa¹⁵ ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[ya]sa¹⁶ hida cha sa[vr]eshu cha amteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa]i[e]shu tiyo[ge]¹⁷ nama Yo[na]-[raja]
- 10 Am̐t[e] [nama Ma]ka na[ma] Alikasudare nama nicha¹⁸ Choḍa-Pam̐diya a Tam̐bapa[m̐]niya¹⁹ (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]²⁰ Y[o]na-Kam̐[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m̐]tishu²¹ [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu Adha-[Pa]²²
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na²³ yaṁti te pi śrutu Devanapriyasa²⁴ dhrama-vuta²⁵ vidhana[m̐] dhramanuśasti dhra[m̐]ma[m̐] anuvidhiyaṁti [a]nuvidhiy[iśam̐ti]²⁶ cha (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra]²⁷ vi[jaye]
- 12 (W) paratrikameva maha-phala [ma]ṇati De va[napri]ye (X) e[ta]ye cha²⁸ [a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhrama-dipi²⁹ li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[ot]ra me a[su] nava[m̐]³⁰ v[i] [tavi]yaṁ man[ishu saya]
- 13 (Y) . . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava³¹ cha [ka]³² nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati³³ (AA) sa hi [i]jaloki[ka]³⁴ paraloki[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं भ्रमदिपि देवनप्रियेन प्रिय जिन लिखपित
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव नि . . (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अथस मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अच किद्धि ति लिखित व संखय

¹ °maṇe Bühler.² sarivī° Bühler.³ aviprahi[ne] Bühler.⁴ savraṁ manu° Bühler.⁵ yenesha [bramaṇa] Bühler.⁶ no Bühler.⁷ hate looks like am̐te.⁸ [tata] Bühler.⁹ Bühler omitted va.¹⁰ Devanampri° Bühler.¹¹ °paye ti Bühler.¹² Deva[nam]pri° Bühler.¹³ [teshaṁ] Bühler.¹⁴ vanam̐pri[ye] Bühler.¹⁵ [De]vanam̐pri° Bühler.¹⁶ yok . Bühler.¹⁷ [ni]cham̐ cha Bühler.¹⁸ °pam̐niya Bühler.¹⁹ Visha-Vaj[ri]- Bühler.²⁰ [Nabha]ke [Na]bha° Bühler.²¹ Am̐dha- Bühler.²² no Bühler.²³ Devanam̐pri° Bühler.²⁴ -vutam̐ Bühler.²⁵ °[sam̐ti] Bühler.²⁶ Bühler omitted this word.²⁷ Bühler omitted cha.²⁸ dhrama- Bühler.²⁹ nava Bühler.³⁰ savra Bühler.³¹ Bühler omitted ka.³² [s]rama- Bühler.³³ [hida]lo° Bühler.

- 13 (A) [i]yañ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] ¹ [jina likhapita]

 14 [likhite likha]pe[śa]mi che[va] ni . . ² (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa
 ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya
 atra ki[chhi] [t]i likhi[t .] va [saṁkha]ya

V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सि पवतसि देवानंपिय ना लाजिना
 लिखा ीवं आलभितु पजोह
 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे समाज . . द (E)
 पि चु तिया समाजा साधुमता देव
 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) मह पिब नि
 पानसत आलभियसु सूपठाये
 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिता तिं आलभिय
 तिंनि पानानि पछा नो आलंभियसंति

- 1 (A) [si ³ pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy] [nā lājina l]i[khā]
 [i]vañ ālabhitu pajo[h]
 2 (C) [no pi cha sam]ā[je] [samā]ja . . [d] (E) [pi
 chu] [t]i[y]ā [sam]ā[jā] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev
 3 [Piyadasine lā]j[iñe] (F) [mah] Piy[a] [n]i
 [p]āna-[sa]ta [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]
 4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyañ dha]m[ma]-lipi likhitā tiñ [āla]bh[iy]
 [t]iñni pānāni pachhā n[o] ā[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i] ⁴

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

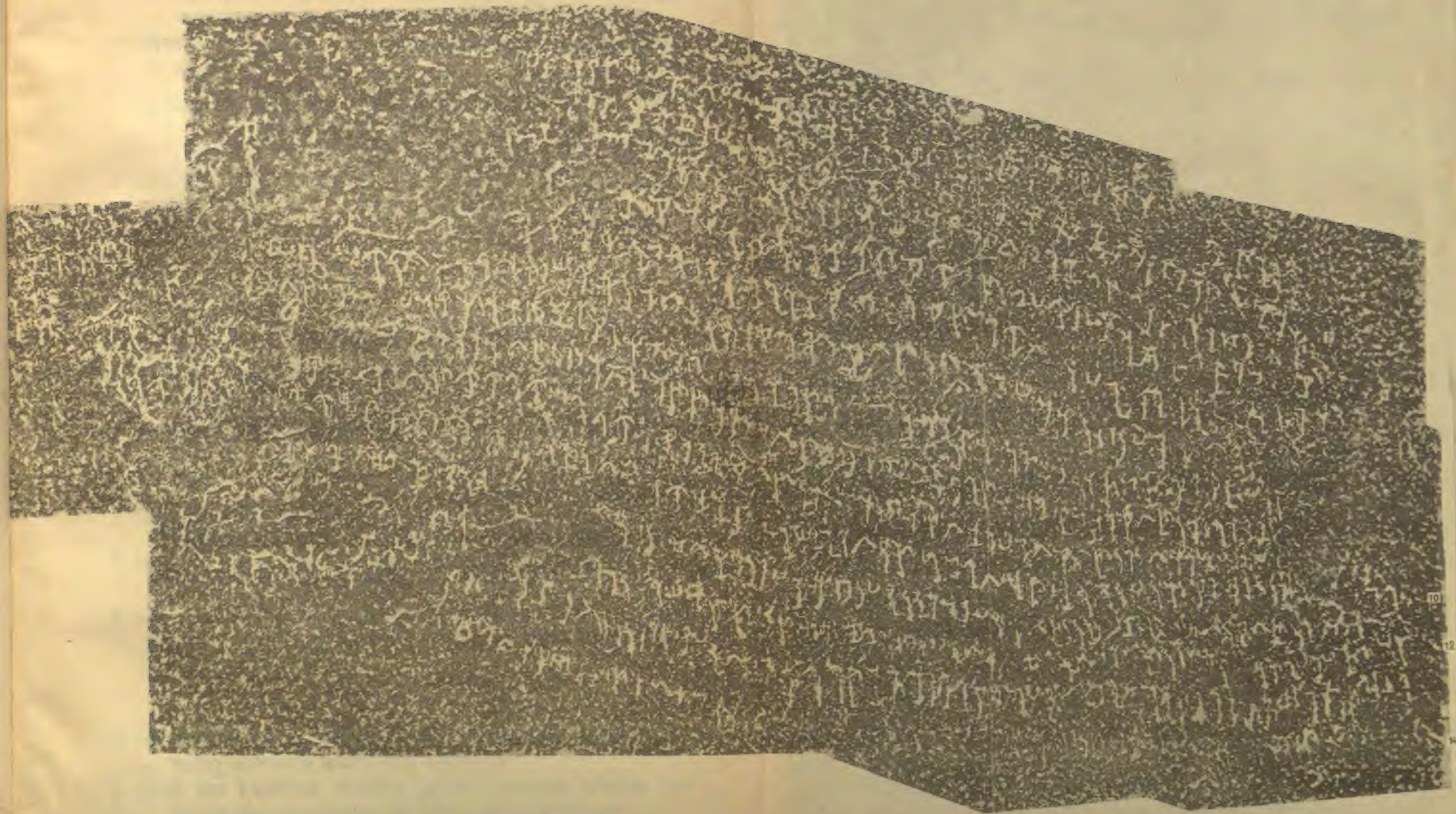
- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल अथा
 तियोके नाम योनलाजा
 2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना
 सा च पमुचिकिसा च (B) धानि

¹ Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devananipriyena Priyadrasina*]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.

² The actual reading was perhaps *nikam*, which would correspond to *nikyam* at Kālsī.

³ The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepiṅgala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugaḍa rock; see the Jaugaḍa edict I, A.

⁴ *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālabhi*° Bühler.



- 3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नषि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता
च (C) मूल वत हालापिता च
- 4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि
पटिभोगाये नं

- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]tasi [D]e[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piyadasi[ne l] [atha]
..... [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā
- 2 [e] vā [p]i [ta]sa Aṃtiyo[ka]sa sāmāntā lājāne savat[a D]evā[naṃp]i[yo]na
P[i]yadasi[nā] [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] cha (B) dhāni
- 3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpit[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]ta
[cha] (C) mū[l] v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha]
- 4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni
p[a]ṭibhogāye [na]ṃ

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आनापयि .. (C) त विजितसि मे युता लजुके
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अया अनाये पि कंमने हेवं इमाये
धंमानुसयिये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेषु अनालंभे साधु अपवियता अपभंडता
साधु (E) पलिसा पि च नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च
वियंज

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me
iy[a]ṃ ānāp[ay]i¹ (C) [ta v]i[ji]t[a]si m[e] yut[ā] la[j]u[k]e
- 2 paṃchasu paṃchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇaye pi [ka]ṃ[ma]ne
hevaṃ imā[y]e [dhaṃ]mānus[ath]iy[e] (D) [s]ādh[u] māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su su[s]ūsa[m]
m]
- 3 nātisu cha baṃbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālāmbhe sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]²
apa-bh[ā]m[ā]dātā sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha [nas]i y[u]t[ā]ni ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti
[he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yamja]

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं
नातिसु असंपटिपति समनवाभनेसु असंपटिपति
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो
धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हषीनि अगिकंधानि अनानि च दिवियानि

- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे
अज वढिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसथिया
- 4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संपटिपति समनवाभनेसु संपटिपति
मातिपितुसुसूसा वुढसुसूसा (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे
- 5 धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति . . च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
- 6 पवढयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आकपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने
पि चु
- 7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठाये
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू
- 8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānā[la]mbhe vihisā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātisū asaṃpaṭipati samana-bābha[ne]su asaṃpaṭipati
- 2 (B) se aja Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosaṃ
a[h]o dhamma-[gho]saṃ vimāna-dasaṃ hathīni [a]gi-kaṃdhāni aṃnāni cha
[di]vi[y]āni
- 3 lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānaṃ (C) ād[i]se b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]ehi no hūta-puluve tādisē
aja va[ḍ]hite De[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piy[a]dasine lājini[ḥ] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā
- 4 an[āla]mbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisū saṃpaṭipat[i] sama[na-bā]bhanesu ¹
saṃpaṭipati m[ā]t[i]pitu-susūsā vu[ḍ]ha-susūsā (D) esa aṃne cha ba[h]uvidhe
- 5 dh[a]mma-chalane vaḍhite (E) vaḍhayis[a]ti cheva Devānaṃpiye Piyada[s]i l[ā]jā
dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ (F) putā pi chu ² nati [panati] . . ³ [cha] Devānaṃ-
piyasa Piyadasine lājine
- 6 pavaḍhayisaṃti yeva dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ ā-k[a]paṃ dhammasi [s]ilasi ch[a
ch]i[th]itu [dhammaṃ a]nus[ā]sisaṃ[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[ṭ]he kaṃme yā
dhammānusāsana (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu
- 7 no hoti asilasa (I) se imasa aṭhasa v[a]dhī ⁴ ahīni ch[a] sā[dhū] ⁵ (J) et[āy]e [aṭhāy]e
iyaṃ likhite imasa aṭhasa vadhi yujantū hīni cha mā alochayisū ⁶
- 8 (K) dūvādasa vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṃpi[ya]sa Piyadasine lājine yaṃ ⁷ [idha]
likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुकले (C)
कयानस से दुकलं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने कटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

¹ -baṃbhanesu Bühler.² The Kālsī version reads *panātikyā*.³ *yisū* Senart and Bühler.⁴ *cha* Senart and Bühler.⁵ *vaḍhi* Bühler.⁶ *sādhu* Senart and Bühler.⁷ Read perhaps *iyam*.

- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवतिसंति से मुकटं कच्छति (F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कच्छति (G) पापे हि नाम
3. सुपदालये (H) से अतिवंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धंममहामाता नाम (I) से तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धंममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधिथानाये धंमवढिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकंबोचगंधालेसु लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अंने आपलंता (K) भटिमयेसु
- 5 बाभनिभियेसु अनाथेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा से (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M) हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अंनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिथाने ति व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंममहामाता (O) इमाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलटितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

- 1 (A) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā h[eva]m āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C) k[a]y[ā]n[a]sa s[e] dukalaṃ kal[e]ti (D) se me b[ah]uke kayāne kaṭe (E) taṃ ye me [p]ut[ā] va
- 2 n[a]t[ī] va m cha t[ē]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvatisaṃti s[e] sukaṭaṃ kachh[am]ti (F) e heta d[esa]m pi hāpayisa[t]i se dukaṭaṃ kachhati (G) pā[p]e hi [nāma]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[e] at[ikaṃ]taṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma (I) se **tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena** me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te sava-pāsaṃde[su]
- 4 v[i]y[āpaṭā] dhammādhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-yutas[a] **Yona-Kambocha-Gaṃdhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu** e vā pi aṃne āpalaṃtā² (K) bhaṭi[mayesu]
- 5 bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[i]t[a]-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye a[pal]ibodhāye viyā[p]aṭā se³ (L) baṃdhana-[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha
- 6 iya[m] anubamdh[a] p[aj]ā⁴ [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā se (M) hida cha bāhilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u me] e vā pi bhāt[i]naṃ⁵ me bhaginīnaṃ va

¹ nat[i] Bühler.² āpalaṃta Bühler.³ Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) joins *viyāpaṭāse* into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsaḥ*. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, *viyāpaṭāse* actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauli, because the other versions have *te* in the place of *se*.⁴ pa[ja] Bühler.⁵ bhātinam Bühler.

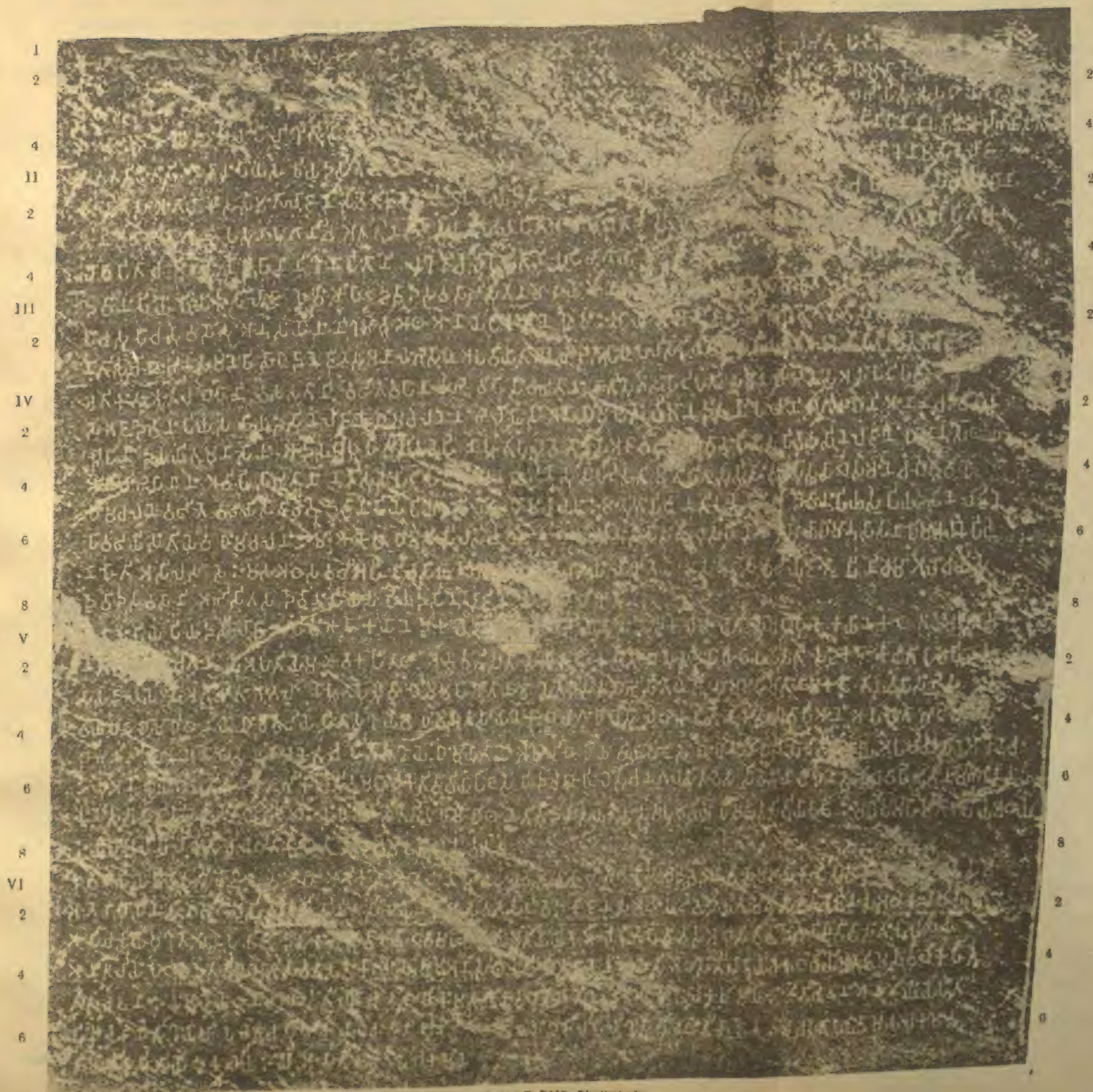
- 7 amnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamm[a-n]isite ti va
dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyaṃ dha[m]ma-yutasi
viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye
8 iyaṃ dhamma-lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhitik[ā] ho[tu] t[athā] cha me pa[jā] anu[vatatu]

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
.... मानस मे
2 अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका
जनस अठं पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठं कलामि हकं
3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि
अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निभूती वा संतं
पलिसाया
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि
हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमत ..
सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि पलकमामि हकं किंति भूतानं आननियं
येहं ति
6 हिद च कानि मुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतु ति (M) एताये अठाये
इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे
पलकमंतू
7 सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन पलकमेन

- 1 (A) Dev[ānaṃp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vaṃ [ā]hā (B) atikaṃ[taṃ a]m[ta]laṃ no
[h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamayā
kaṭe (D) sa[va]m [kālaṃ] . . . [māna]sa¹ me
2 ante olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]g[ā]si v[achas]i [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] cha sa[vata]
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṃ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṃtu m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa
aṭhaṃ kalāmi h[aka]m
3 (F) aṃ pi cha ki[m]chhi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakāṃ v[ā] sāv[a]kāṃ vā e vā
mahām[āte]h[i] atiyāyike ālopīte hoti tasi aṭhasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatī vā saṃtaṃ
palisāyā²
4 āna[m]taliyaṃ paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savaṃ kālāṃ (G) heva[m] me
anusathe (H) nath[i] hi m[e] [tos]e u[ṭhāna]si aṭha-saṃtīlanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-
m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

¹ [mī]nasa Bühler.² palisāya Bühler.

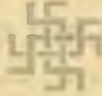


- 5 (J) tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle [u]ṭhān[e cha a]ṭha-saṃtīl[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kaṃmata . . [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṃ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ā[na]niyaṃ yeha[m] ti
- 6 [h]i[da] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[aṃ ā]ādhayaṃtū ti (M) et[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā hotu ta[ṭh]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[m]ṭ[ū]¹
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṃ aṃnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इच्छति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इच्छति (C) मुनिसा च
- 2 उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कच्छति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस नथि सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे बाढं

- 1 (A) [D]evānaṃ[p]iye Piy[a]dasī lājā savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsam[dā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamaṃ [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhamti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savaṃ vā ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā² dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha nīche bādham



EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिमु (B) . . त मिगविया अन्नानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये
- 2 पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस होति समनवाभनानं दसने च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
- 3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसथी च पुछा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने

- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṃt[ala]m lāj[ā]n[e] v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṃ nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] (B) . . [ta miga]viy[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[l]āmāni huvaṃti naṃ (C) se Devānaṃpiye
- 2 P[i]y[a]dasī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e [n]ikhami Saṃbodb[i]³ (D) [t]e[na]tā dha[m]ma-yātā (E) [tat]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānaṃ d[a]s[a]n[e] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]dhānaṃ dasane cha

¹ °mātu Senart, °maritu Bühler.

² cha Bühler; the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has chā.

³ sambodhi Bühler.

- 3 h[i]lāmna-p[a]ṭivīdhā[ne¹ cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]i
[cha] [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e² abhilāme hoti
Devānampiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine bhāge [am]ne

NINTH ROCK-EDICT : DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं
कलेति आबाध वीवाह जुपदाये पवाससि
2 एताये अंनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क (C) चु इयी बहुकं
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति
3 (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग (F) यं
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति
4 गुलूनं अप मे समनवाभनानं दाने एस अंने च
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि
5 सुवामिकेन पि ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि अनुगहे वा
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे (K) मि तिकेन सहायेन
पि वियोवदित ि तसि पकलनसि इयं
7 लाधयितवे (L) टव स्वगस
आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) [athī ja]ne uchāvuchaṃ maṅgalaṃ
kal[e]ti [āb]ādha³ [v]i[vāha] [ju]padāye⁴ pavās[a]si
2 etāye amnāye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[e] bahukaṃ maṅgalaṃ k[a] (C)
[chu]⁵ iṭhī b[ahuka]ṃ cha [ba]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am]⁶ cha nilaṭṭhiyaṃ cha
maṅgalaṃ kaleti
3 (D) se kaṭ[a]viye che[va kh]o m[a]ṅgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[e]dise
maṃ[ga] (F) [ya]ṃ [ch]u⁷ kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le e [dha]m̐ma-maṅgale (G)
[ta]te[sa d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i saṃmyā-paṭipat[i]
4 [gulū]naṃ a[pa] [me] samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ dāne esa am̐ne ch[a]
 [dham̐ma]-maṃga[le nāma] (H) [se]⁸ vata[viye p]it[inā pi pute]na
pi bhātina pi
5 suvāmike[na p]i [l]e [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]ṭhi [cha]⁹
hevaṃ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [s]e [na]thi [anu]ga[h]e v[ā]
6 [ād]i[se dha]m̐ma-dāne dham̐[mānugahe]¹⁰ (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena
sahāye[na p]i viyovadita¹¹ i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ
7 [l]ādhayitave (L) ta[v] [svagasa] āl[adh]i

¹ hīlāmna- Senart and Bühler; -paṭi° looks like -peṭi°, and may be meant for -praṭi°.

² esa bhūye Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. eṣā see above, p. 15, n. 7.

³ ābādhe Senart and Bühler.

⁴ [j]opadāye Bühler.

⁵ [eta] tu Bühler.

⁶ khuda[kam] Bühler. ⁷ [cha] Bühler. ⁸ tā Senart, [ta] Bühler. ⁹ pa Senart, p[i] Bühler.

¹⁰ dhammanu° Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Restore viyovaditaviye.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न हं मंनते
 ि यसो वा किटी वा इच्छति तदत्वाये आ जने
 2 सूसं सुसुसतु मे धंम मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी
 वा इ ि पलकमति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये ..
 3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस (E) दुकले
 त अगेन न सवं च पलितिजितु
 4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले

- 1 (A) [Devānam]piye Piyad[a]s[i] lājā yaso v]ā [k]iṭi vā n [ha]m
 man[n]ate] i [yaso] vā k[iṭ]i [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā]
 [ja]ne
 2 [sūsa]m [susū]s[at]u [m]e dhamma [me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā
 kiṭi v]ā i i [pa]lakama[t]i Devānampiye pāl[atik]ā[y]e ..
 3 kiṃti saka[le apa-pal]isave [hu]v[eyā t]i (D) pa[l]isa (E) [du]ka[le]
 t[a agena] [na sa]vaṃ cha paliti[j]i[tu]
 4 khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा
 अथि मभिमेन हि सवे सवत घटिते
 2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस (D) अथि
 वुत्ते तस याये
 3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स सं
 .. लोचयितु कला ति

- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī De[v]ānampiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likhā
 athi ma[jhimena] [h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite
 2 (C) mahante hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis¹ (D) [a]thi
 [vu]ṭe ta[sa] [y]āy[e]
 3 [k]iṃti cha j[a]ne tathā paṭipajeyā ti² (E) e pi chu heta asamati likhiṭ[e s]³
 saṃ .. [lochay]itu k[a][ā] [t]i

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

¹ Restore *likhiyisāmi*.

² Or *paṭipajeyāti* may be *one* word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.

³ *jam* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

The white one.¹

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसथि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन
हिदलोकिक-
- 6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं (G) नो च
पापुनाथ आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केछ व एकपुलिसे नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)
देखत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधनंतिक अंने च हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत
इछितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 नितूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इछितविये
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगछ संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दखेय तुफाक
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनंने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि (R) से महाफले ए तस
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि नो
लाजालधि

¹ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauili rock. Cf. the similar labels at Girnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कंस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु
एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलाधयिसय मम च आननियं एहय (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन तोतविया
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोताविय (X) हेवं च
कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चयय संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन
- 20 नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति नस अकस्मा पलिवोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं मते
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानित
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसयी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये
निखामयिस
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखसिलाने
पि (CC) अदा अ
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंसं एतं पि
जानिसंति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसयी ति
- 1 (A) [Devāna]m[pi]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyam ma[hā]māta [naga]la-
[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [am kichhi dakhā]mi hakam tam ichhāmi k[i]m[t]i kam[mana
pa]ṭi[pāday]eham¹
- 3 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si am
tuph[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasum² ā[yata]³ p[a]na[yam ga]chh[e]ma
su munisānam (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m kiṃti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena
hidalo[kika]-
- 6 pālalokike[na]⁴ y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā . . . muni]sesu⁵ pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no
cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e⁶ [iyam aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-puli[se] . . . nāti⁷ e[ta]m se pi
desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[a hi t]u[phe] etam
- 8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam⁸ eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] bamdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

¹ paṭiveda^o Senart and Bühler.

² āyatā Senart and Bühler.

³ Restore sava-munisesu.

⁴ Read pāpunāti. as at Jaugaḍa.

⁵ sesu Senart and Bühler.

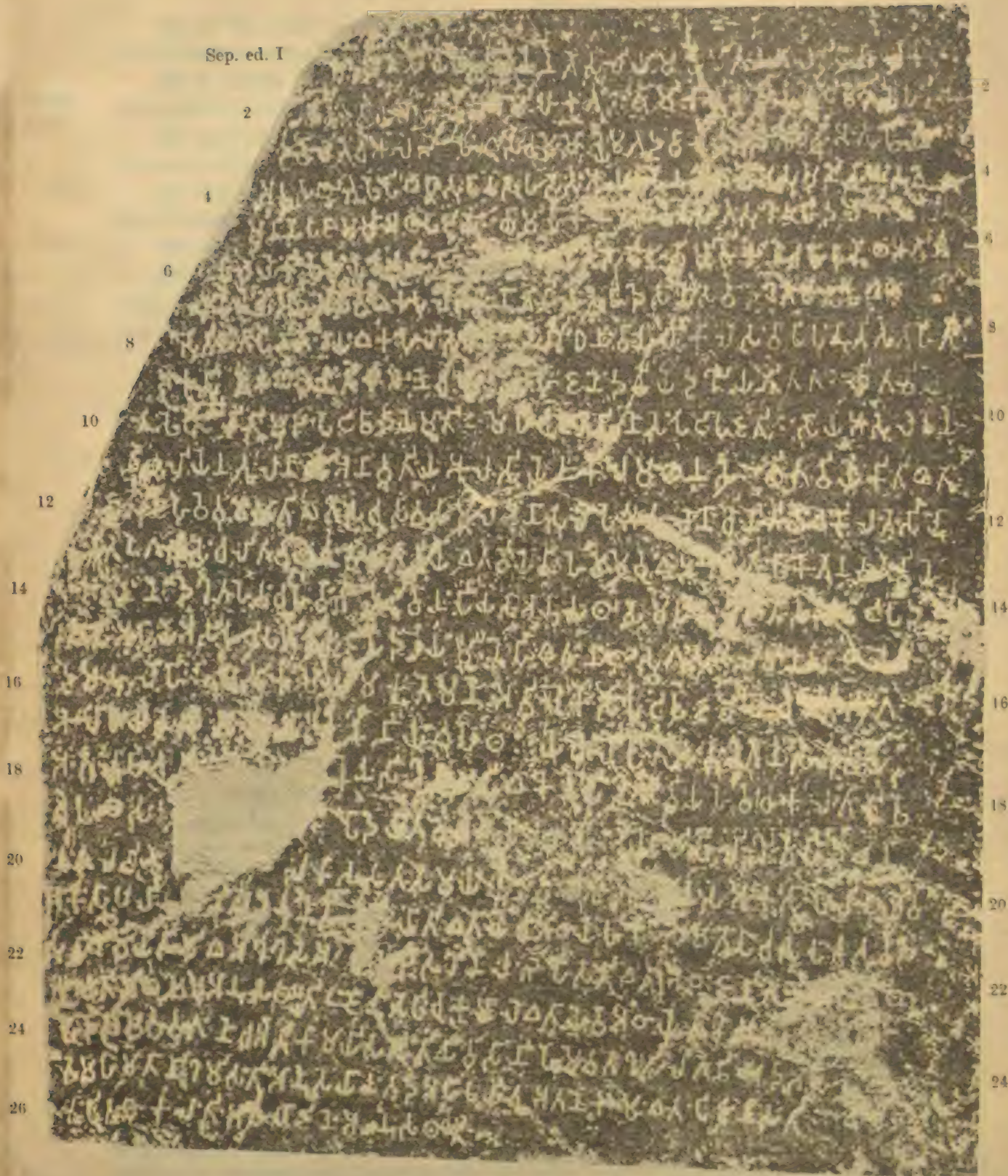
⁶ lokikāye Senart and Bühler.

⁷ āvā-gamake Senart and Bühler.

⁸ niti iyam Senart and Bühler.

- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a]¹ amne cha hu jane da[v]iye dukhīyati (L)
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kiṃti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṃpaṭipajati
isāya āsulopena
- 11 ni[thū]liyena² tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye
kitim³ ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tu]l[a]nā cha
(P) niti[ya]m e kilaṃte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chha]⁴ saṃchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṃmeva e
da[kheya]⁵ t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānaṃne⁶ dekhata hevaṃ cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānaṃpiyasa anusathi (R) se
mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [saṃpa]ṭipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asaṃpaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi⁷ etaṃ nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi
no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṃm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke⁸ (U) sa[m]paṭi-
pajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṃ] svaga[m]
- 17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha] mama cha⁹ ānaniyaṃ ehatha (V) iyaṃ cha l[i]p[i]¹⁰ t[i]sa-
na[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā]¹¹
- 18 (W) aṃta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na]¹² kha[nasi] kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṃ
cha kalaṃtaṃ tuphe
- 19 chaghattha saṃpa[ti]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye¹³ iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhit[a]
h]ida ena
- 20 nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṃ samayaṃ yūjevū¹⁴ t[i] [na]sa¹⁵ akasmā
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] mate¹⁶
p[a]mchasa paṃchasa [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṃ]d[e] s[a]khinālaṃbhe hosati etaṃ
aṭhaṃ jānitu [ta]thā
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[u] aṭhāye
[ni]khāma[yisa]
- 24 hedisameva¹⁷ vagam no cha atikāmayisati timni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte
pi (CC) [a]dā a
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaṃmaṃ etaṃ pi
jānisaṃti
- 26 taṃ pi ta[th]ā kalaṃti a[tha] lājine anusathī ti

¹ *baṇḍha*° Senart and Bühler.² *nithūli*° Senart and Bühler.³ Read *kiṃti*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.⁴ Read *ugachhe*.⁵ *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler.⁶ *aṃnaṃ ne* Senart and Bühler.⁷ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read °*mīnehi*.⁸ *mana-* Senart, *mane-* Bühler.⁹ *t* for *mama cha* Senart, [ta] . . . Bühler.¹⁰ *lipi* Bühler.¹¹ °*viyaṃ* Senart, °*viya* Bühler.¹² [i]s[e] Bühler.¹³ *aṭhāye* Senart and Bühler.¹⁴ *yūjevū* Senart and Bühler.¹⁵ Restore *ena janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.¹⁶ Read *mahāmātā*; *dhanimate* Senart and Bühler.¹⁷ *hedisaṃmeva* Senart and Bühler.



TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of *Dēvānāmpriya*, the *Mahāmātras* at Tōsali,¹ (who are) the judicial officers of the city,² have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.³

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,⁴ with the object of gaining the affection of men.⁵

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.⁶

(G) And you do not learn⁷ how far this (my) object reaches.⁸

(H) Some single person⁹ only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion,¹⁰ (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.¹¹

¹ Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsali; see EI, 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7. 449) identified Tōsali with the *Τωσαλει μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 252, n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880. 384 f.; IA, 13. 382.

² With *nagala-viyohālaka* cf. *paura-vyāvahārika* in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 20, l. 13; see SPAW, 1914. 855.

³ The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1895. 537, and of a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, E.

⁴ Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle *āyata* (= Skt. *āyatta*) seems to be used in the sense of *vyāpṛita*. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

⁵ Previous translators took *sumunisānaṁ* to be one word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining *su* = Skt. *svit*; see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. *su* in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

⁶ Cf. Āśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacharita*, II, 35: स्वाभ्यः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवमाशंसते; 'as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhōdana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.'

⁷ Bühler rendered *pāpūnātha* by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

⁸ Bühler translated *āva-gamuke iyaṁ aṭhe* by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. *ava ite pi cha me āvuti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

⁹ This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared *eka-pulise* (= *eka-munise* at Jaugaḍa) with the Buddhist term *prithagjana* (see Childers, s.v. *prithujjana*), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41. 15. The expression *eka-pulise* or *eka-munise*, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugaḍa), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugaḍa). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

¹⁰ Cf. the rock-edict V, F, and VII, D.

¹¹ See above, p. 47, n. 6.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)¹ that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.²

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment³ is (obtained) by him⁴ accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:⁵ envy, a. yer,⁶ cruelty, hurry, want of practice,⁷ laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:⁸ 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);⁹ such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.¹⁰

(S) For if one fails to observe this,¹¹ there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.¹²

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?¹³

¹ As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 859), *nīti* is here = *daṇḍa-nīti*. I connect the locative *nītyām* with *asti*; at Jaugaḍa it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated *palikileśa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kauṭīliya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *pariklṛṣayataḥ*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayataḥ* in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of *ba[m*]dhanāmtika* and *daviye* is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914. 861 f.

⁴ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātāni* is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 89.

⁶ For *āsulopa*, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvūti* (Dhauḷi) or *āvuti* (Jaugaḍa) = Skt. *āvṛitti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, *āvuti* corresponds to Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative *e* corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

⁹ Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *aṁnamne*, which they divided into *aṁnam ne* = Skt. *ājñān naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + naḥ* (Lüders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhauḷi and at Jaugaḍa, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

¹¹ As *vipatipādayamīne* corresponds to *vipatipātayaṁtam* at Jaugaḍa, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *sam̐patipajamīne* in section U, below, to *anuvekhamāne* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to *vijinamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

¹² For *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadhā dialect the locative would end in *-asi*.

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.¹

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.²

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,³ you will be able⁴ to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times⁵ (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering⁶ nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years⁷ [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh⁸ nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),⁹ paying attention to this object, are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from Ujjayinī also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose a person of the same description,¹⁰ and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśilā also.

(CC) When these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किञ्चि
दस्वामि हकं तं इ

2 दुवालाते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं
तुफेसु मम

¹ Cf. the Dhauri separate edict II, L.

² i.e. three times per year; see the Dhauri separate edict II, N.

³ The forms *kalamātam* (here and in II, L and P), *°pātayamātam* (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), *saṁtam* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāsamātam* (pillar-edict IV, M), and *°pajamātam* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

⁴ Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauri separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also *chakye*, *ibid.*, l. 6.

⁵ In the translation of *sasvatam samayam* I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPA, 1914. 864).

⁶ See above, p. 33, n. 8.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict III, C.

⁸ Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

akakkasam viññāpanim giram sachcham udiraye |

yāya nābhīsaṁ kañchi tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam ||

⁹ The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them; see SPA, 1914. 865 f.

¹⁰ See above, p. 40, n. 2.

- 3 (E) अथ पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितमुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये
युजेवू ति हेवं
- 4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछंदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) मव इह
मम अंतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय अनुविगिन ममाये
5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . पुनेवू इति खमिसति
ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खमितवे मम निमित्तं व च
धमं चलेवू
- 6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे
अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिंजा
च ममा
- 7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास ि च तानि एन
पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं
देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे
- 8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक
देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये
हितमुखाये च तेस
- 9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम
च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन
महामाता स्वसतं सम
- 10 युजिसंति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनु-
चातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला
पि तिसेन एकेन पि
- 11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyaṃ kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B)
am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam tam i]
- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi am
tuphe[s]u mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakam ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-
pālalokikāye¹ yujevū ti h[e]v[am]
- 4 (F) siyā aṃtānaṃ avijitānaṃ ki-chha[r̥nde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) m[a]va²
ichha mama aṃtesu . . . i³ [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānaṃp[iy]
[anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhammeva lahevu mamat[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

¹ Read *pālalokikena*, as in the first separate edict, F.

² *move* Bühler; read perhaps *hevameva*.

³ Restore *kiṃti*.

- ... un[e]vū¹ iti khamisati² ne Devānāmpīye [aph]ākā³ ti e chakiye
 khamitave mama nimitam [va]⁴ cha dhammam chalevū
 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
 ana[n]e [e]takena haka[m] anusāsitu cchamdam cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimñā
 cha mamā
 7 [a]jalā (I) s[e] heva[m] kaṭu kaṁme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i⁵ [cha] tāni
 ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānāmpiy[e] aphāka athā cha atānam⁶
 heva[m] Devānāmpīye [a]nukampati aphe
 8 athā cha pajā⁷ heva[m] may[e] D[e]vānāmpiyasa (J) se haka[m] anusāsitu
 [chha]mda[m] ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye⁸ (K)
 paṭibalā hī tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
 9 hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (L) heva[m] cha kalamtam tuphe svagam ālādha[yi]satha
 mama ch[a] ānaniyam ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iya[m] lipi likhitā hida e[na
 ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa]ma⁹
 10 yujisaṁti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amṭānam (N) iya[m] cha lipi
 [anu]chātummasam tisenā nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmam chu¹⁰ [kha]ṇas[i]¹¹
 khanasi amṭalā pi tisenā ekena [p]i
 11 [so]taviya (P) heva[m] kala[m]tam [t]uphe chaghatha sampatipādayitave

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the prince (governor) and the Mahāmātras at Tōsali have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. to you.

(D) my

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus

(F) It might occur¹² to (my) unconquered borderers¹³ (to ask): 'What does the king desire¹⁴ with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Dēvānāmpriya that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

¹ Restore pāpunevū.

² aphākam Senart and Bühler.

³ The syllable nam is entered above the line.

⁴ athāye Senart and Bühler.

⁵ cha Senart and Bühler.

⁶ Lūders showed that sīyā is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as huthā in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.

⁷ Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.

⁸ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained su by Skt. svit. Cf. gachhema su in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and kinasu in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.

⁹ The syllable sa is entered above the line.

¹⁰ Senart and Bühler omit va.

¹¹ Restore asvāsaniyāni.

¹² paja Bühler.

¹³ Read sarvataṁ samayam.

¹⁴ The syllable si is entered above the line.

confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,¹ not misery; that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvānāmpriya** will forgive them² what can be forgiven;³ that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)⁴ by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable⁵ resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,⁶ in order that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvānāmpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvānāmpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces⁷ for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months⁸ on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.⁹

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)¹⁰ also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

¹ Here and at Jaugada, Senart and Bühler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880. 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914. 868; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

² As Bühler (ASSI, 1. 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

³ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

⁵ *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugada, as *loga* (Jaugada separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to *loka*, *libi* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *lipi*, *hida* (Kālsī, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsī, VI, H) to *tose*.

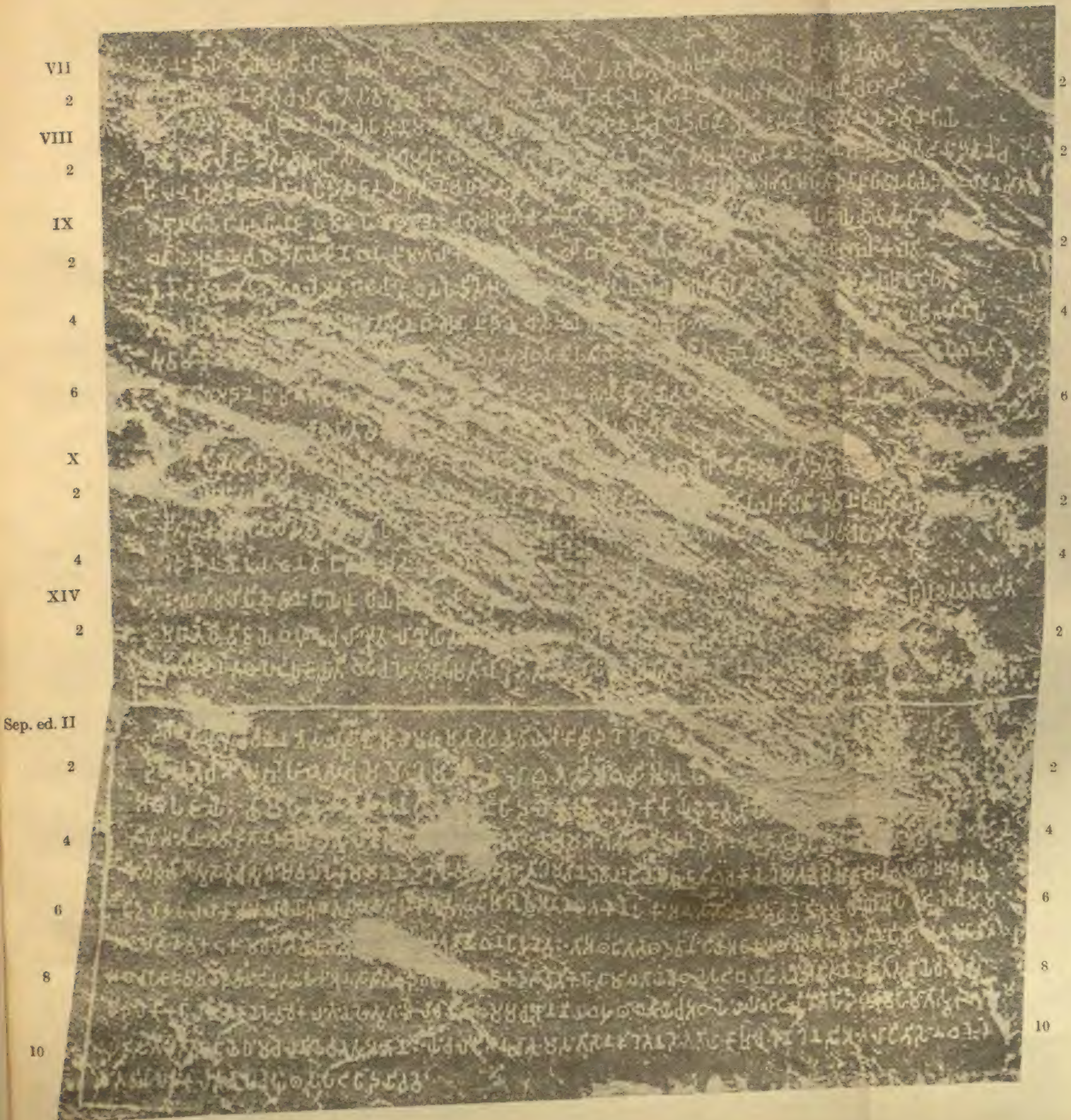
⁶ The neuter *tāni* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugada version.

⁷ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāvutika* (Dhauī) or [*saka*]/*la-desā-āy[ut]ika* (Jaugada) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āvuti* = Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Aśoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayini, and Takshasilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauī separate edict I.

⁸ Cf. *chātummāsī* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, V.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, n. 9.



VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी खेपिंगलसि पवतसि देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना
लिखापिता (B) हिद नो किछि जीवं आलभितु पजोहितविये
2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटविये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रखति देवानंपिये
पियदसी लाजा (E) अथि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस
3 पियद्रसिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानससि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
अनुदिवसं बहूनि पानसतसहसानि आलभियिसु सूपठाये
4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिंनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति
दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (H) एतानि पि चु तिंनि
पानानि
5 पछा नो आलभियिसंति

- 1 (A) *iyam dhamma-lipī Khēpi[m]galasi¹ pavatasi Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā*
lājinā likhāpitā (B) *hida no kichhi jivam ālabhi[t]u pajohitaviye*
2 (C) *no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye* (D) *bahukaṃ hi dosaṃ samājasa² drakhati³*
Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā (E) *athi pi chu ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā*
Devānaṃpiyasa
3 *Piyadrasine⁴ lājine* (F) *puluvaṃ mahā[nasa]si Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine*
lājine anudivasam bah[ū]ni pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni ālabhiyisu sūpa[th]āye
4 (G) *se aja adā iyaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā timni yeva pānāni āla[m]bhiyaṃti⁵* *duve*
majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvam (H) *etāni pi chu timni pānāni*
5 *pachhā no āla[bh]ijiyisaṃti*

TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the **Khēpiṅgala⁶**
mountain by king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**.
(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.
(D) For king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.
(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by
king **Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**.

¹ *Khapiṅgalasi* Bühler, but the *e* of *khe* is perfectly distinct.

² *samājasi* Bühler.

³ A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for *r*, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of *da*; *dakhati* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ *Piyadasine* Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of *da* is probably intended for *r*.

⁵ *ālabhiyaṃti* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ The etymological meaning of this name is: '(which appears) brown in the air'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते^१ अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजि चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नथि सवत च अतत नथि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi **Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi amtā athā Choḍā Paṇḍiyā Satiyapu[t]e**¹ **Antiyoke nāma**
- 2 **Yona-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Antiyokasa sāmāntā lājāne savata Devānāmpiyena Piyadasinā lāji** [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi sava[ta] cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra¹ hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Satiyaputa**, the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka**, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyoka**,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.²

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

¹ *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Bühler.

² The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauli. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आ च पादेसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने
सा मितसंयुतेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेषु अनालंभे साधु
यि
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजने च
- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me
iyam̐ [ā] cha pād[e]sike cha
- 2 pañchasu pañchasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇāye pi kamma[n]e
..... [s]ā mita-saṃthute[s] ...
- 3 nātisu ch[a] baṃbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālambhe sādhu
[y]i
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajuka*, and the *Prāḍēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल
- 3 दिवियानि लूपानि द्रसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते
- 4 धंमानुसयिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संप
- 5 (D) एस अने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयि
- 6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवढयिसंति येव धंमचल
- 7 (H) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति
- 8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि

- 1 (A) a[t]ikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānālaṃbhe
- 2 (B) se aja **Devānāṃpiya Piyadasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[l]
- 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni dṛasayitu¹ munisānaṃ (C) ādise bahūhi vasa-sate
- 4 dhammānusathiyā anālaṃbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu [saṃpa]
- 5 (D) esa aṃne cha bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vaḍhite (E) va[ḍhay]i
- 6 **Piyadasine lājine** pavaḍhayi[sa]ṃ[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la]
- 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i
- 8 [hī]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

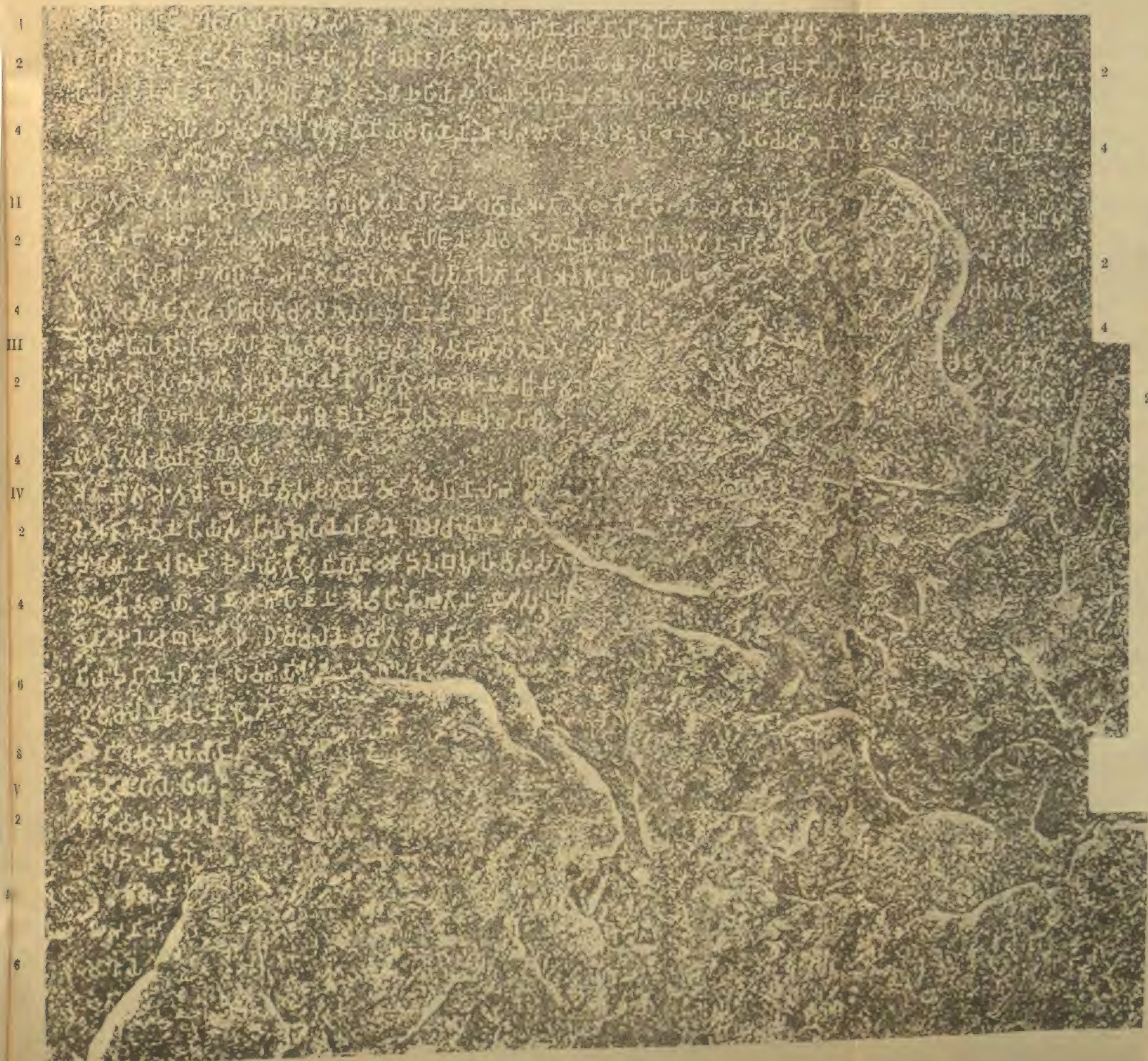
(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve² the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by **king Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) **anointed twelve years**.

¹ *dasayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Bühler.

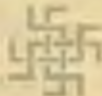
² See above, p. 31, n. 7.



FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद
 2 नती व पलं च ते
 3 सुपदालये (H) से अ
 4 धंमाधिषाना
 5 .. भनिभि
 6 मोखाये
 7 ए वा
 8

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da]
 2 nat[i]¹ va palam̐ cha te
 3 s[u]padālaye (H) se [a]
 4 [dha]m̐[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā²
 5 .. bhanibhi
 6 mokhāye
 7 e [v]ā
 8



TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 (G) For sin indeed steps fast.³
 (H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
 (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōchas, and Gandhālas, among the Laṭhikas and Pitēnikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

¹ *namti* Senart, *nati* Bühler.² *oṭhānā* Bühler.³ See above, p. 33, n. 3.

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,¹ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).²

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
- 2 स मे अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस
- 3 कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि
विवादे व
- 4 लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)
हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च
- 5 (I) मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च
अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि
पलकमामि हकं
- 6 नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि मुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू
ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु
- 7 ता मे पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन
पलकमेन

- 1 (A) [na]m̐piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-
puluve savaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-kamm[e] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D)
savaṃ kālāṃ

- 2 [sa m̐]e aṃte olodhanasi gabhāgālasī vachasi vinīta[sī] uyānasi cha savata
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṃ praṭivedayaṃtu ³ me ti (E) savata cha janasa

¹ See above, p. 33, n. 7.

² See above, p. 33, n. 8.

³ The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi* Senart and Bühler.

- 3 [ka]m (F) am pi cha kimchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam vā sāvakam
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopite hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va
- 4 lisāy[am]¹ ā]nam[ta]liyam paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam
kālam (G) hevam me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-
saṁtilan[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyam mūle uṭhāne cha aṭha-
saṁtilanā cha (K) nathi hi k[am]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am cha kichhi
p[a]lakamāmi hakam
- 6 [n]iyam yeham ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagam
ālādhayamtu ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]m dhamma-lipī likhitā chila-ṭhitikā
hotu²
- 7 [t]ā³ me [pa]lakamamtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]m amnata
agena palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within⁴ the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

¹ °sāya Senart and Bühler.

² hotū Bühler.

³ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *po* is visible before *tā*.

⁴ The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) दसी लाजा सवत इहति सवपासंडा वसे . . ति (B) सवे हि
ते समयं भावसुधी च इहति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा
2 (D) सं व कछति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने धी
च नीचे वाढं

- 1 (A) da[sɪ]¹ lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]saṁdā va[s]e . . [t]i (B) [sav]e
hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā
2 (D) [sa]m² va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā³ [d]a[ne]
[dhī] cha nīche [b]āḍham

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 विया अंनानि च एदि मानि हुवंति नं (C) से
देवानंपिये
2 पिय दस ता (E) ततेस होति स
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च धंमपलिपुष्ठा िलामे
होति देवानंपियस
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे च ...

- 1 ' [v]i[y]ā [a]māni cha e[d]i [m]āni huvaṁti nam (C) se
Devānāmpiyē
2 [Piya] [dasa]⁴ [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] cha
dāne⁵ cha vuḍhānam dasane cha
3 hilaṁna-paṭiv[i]dhāne [cha] [dha]mma-p[ā]i[puchh]ā⁷
ilāme hoti De[v]ānāmpiyasa
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a] ...

¹ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before *dasī*.

² The same plate reads [va] *eka-desaṁ*.

³ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a*][ti]kaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ lājā.

⁵ The same plate reads *Piyadasi* [lājā] *dasa*.

⁶ *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno*.

⁷ *-pāli* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).¹

(C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा पजुपदाये पवाससि एताये
अंनाये च
- 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुके च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव
खो मंगले
- 3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म (F) इयं चु सभटकसि
संम्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु समये
- 4 समनबाभनानं दाने एस अने पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना
पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये
- 5 से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु
खो मितेन
- 6 यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन
कटवियतला
- 7

- 1 (A) Devān[am]piye Piyadasī lā[jā] [pa]jupadāye pavāsasi etāye
amnāye cha
- 2 hedisāye jane [ba]hu[ka]m [cha ma]m[gala]m k[a]leti (D) se kaṭaviye
cheva kho maṅgale
- 3 (E) apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma (F) i[ya]m [chu]²
[sa-bha]ṭkasi sammyā-paṭipati gulūnam apachiti pānesu say[a]me
- 4 saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam d]ā[n]e [esa a]m[n]e [pi]tinā pi putena pi
bhātinā pi suvāmike[na] pi iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye

¹ With *huvamti nam* cf. *etehi na* in the Kārle and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7, 64, text l. 4; 8, 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prākṛit, *nam* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Śaurasēni, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nanu*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nānam*.

² These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

- 5[s]e dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha (K)
se chu kho mitena
- 6yam sād[h]ū imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kiṃ hi imena
kaṭaviyatalā
- 7

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child,¹ (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.

(C) But women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said thus:—'Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) यसो वा किटी वा इहति तदत्ताये आयतिये च जने धंसुसूसं
सुसूसतु मे
- 2 ति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपलिसवे
हुवेया ति
- 3 (D) लितिजितु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले
- 1 (A) [ya]so vā ki[t]i vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhamma-
susūsam susūsatu me
- 2 [t]i Devānāmpiye pālatikāye vā ki[ni]ti [śa]kale apa-palisave
[h]uveyā ti
- 3 (D) [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[sa]ṭena vā (F) usaṭena chu dukalatale

¹ For *pajupadāye* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

VI

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4

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VII

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VIII

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IX

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X

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XIV

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TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort **Dēvānāmpriya** is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger

(E) difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) मङ्गिमेन अथि विथटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C)
महंते हि विजये

2 स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि
चु हेत

3

1 (A) [ma]jhime[na] ath[i] vithaṭena (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite
(C) mahante hi vijaye

2 [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṃt[i] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta
3

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) has been stated because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं
वतविया (C) अं किञ्चि द्दखामि हकं तं इद्दामि किंति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं
2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E)
फे हि वहुसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गद्धेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवमुना मे

- 3 पजा (G) अथ पजाये इहामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-
पाललोकिकेन हेमेव मे इह सवमुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दखष हि तुफे पि
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन बधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इक्षितये
किंति मभं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जानेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आमुलोपेन
निठूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इक्षितविये किंति मे एतानि
जातानि नो ह्येयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनामुलोपे अतुलना च
(Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय
- 7 संचलितु उथाया संचलितथ्ये तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे
दखेया आनंने णिभपेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विपटिपातयंतं नो
स्वगआलधि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंसस स मे कुत्ते मनो-
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y)
मीने चघथ
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ ने पलिकि
. ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं
त पि कुमाले वि . . त मयि
लाते
- 12 वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंसं
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा

1 (A) Dev[ā]naṃpiye he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Saṃ[ā]pāyaṃ mahāmātā [na]gala-
viyohālaka he[va]m va[tav[i]y[ā] (C) am kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]m [taṃ] ichhām[i]
k]imti[i] kaṃ ¹ kamana ² pa]tipātayeḥam

¹ Senart and Bühler omit *kaṃ*. Cf. the Jaṭgaḍa separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above, p. 35, n. 12.

² [*kaṃ*]mana Bühler.

- 2 *duvālate cha ālabheham* (D) *es[a]* cha me mokhiya-mata *duvālam a[m]* *tuphesu anusathi* (E) *phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasu [ā]ya[ta]* *p[ā]na[yaṁ]* *gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]* (F) *sava-mu[n]ā me*¹
- 3 *pajā* (G) *atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]* *kiṁ[t]* *i me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su* (H) *no chu*² *tu[phe e]taṁ [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e*³
- 4 *[i]yaṁ aṭh[e]* (I) *kechā eka-[muni]s[e]*⁴ *pā[p]unāti*⁵ *se pi desaṁ no savaṁ* (J) *dakhatha hi [tuphe] pi*⁶ *suvitā [p]i* (K) *bahuka aṭhi*⁷ *ye eti eka-munise ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]saṁ [p]i*⁸ *pāpunāti* (L) *tata [ho]t[i] aka-*
- 5 *sm[ā] ti*⁹ *ten[a]* *badhana[m]ti* *ka*¹⁰ *anye*¹¹ *cha [va]ge bahuke vedayati* (M) *tata tuphe[hi] ichhi* *taye kiṁti majham [pa]ṭipātayem[a]* (N) *imehi jāte[hi]*¹² *no [pa]ṭipa[ja]* *ti*¹³ *i[s]ā[ya]*¹⁴ *āsulopena [ni]t[hū]li[ye]na*¹⁵
- 6 *t[ul]āya*¹⁶ *[a]nā[v]uti[ya]*¹⁷ *āla[s]y[e]na ki* *lamath[e]na* (O) *hevaṁ ichhit[a]vi[y]e kiṁti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni]* *njo hveyū*¹⁸ *ti* (P) *savasa chu*¹⁹ *iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[su]lo[p]e atulanā* *cha* (Q) *nī[tiya]m [e]y[am] k[i]l[am]t[e] [siya] . . .*
- 7 *saṁchalitu uthāy[ā]*²⁰ *saṁchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya*²¹ *[pi] etaviye pi nī[t]i[yaṁ]* (R) *eve dakh[e]yā*²² *āna[m]ne*²³ *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye*²⁴ *heva[m] hevaṁ* *cha Devānam[p]i[ya]sa* *an[u]sa[thi ti]* (S) *[eta]m [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]-*
- 8 *taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti* (T) *vipaṭipātayamtaṁ no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi*²⁵ (U) *du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]ṭe ma* *n[o-ati]le[ke]*²⁶ (V) *[etaṁ saṁpaṭipajamīne mama]*
- 9 *cha ānaneyam esatha svagam cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā* (W) *iyam chā*²⁷ *li[p]i anutisaṁ sot[a]v[i]yā* (X) *[a]lā*²⁸ *[p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā ek[a]k[e]na pi* (Y) *m[i]ne*²⁹ *ch[aghatha]*
- 10 *tave* (Z) *etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyam [li]khitā [l]ipī ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m] sama[ya]m [etaṁ] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena [muni]s[ā]nam [a] ne [pal]i[k]*³⁰ *ye*
- 11 *[pa]mchasu paṁchasu va[sesu] anu[s]ayānam*³¹ *nikhāma[y]isāmi*³² *mahāmāta[m] achamda[m] apha[usa]m*³³ *ta*³⁴ *pi kumāle [v]i*³⁵ *ta* *m[ayi]*³⁶ *[lā]t[e]*³⁷

¹ Read -*munisā me*; -*munise* Senart and Bühler.

² *cha* Bühler.

³ *āvā-* Bühler; -*gamake* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ -*palise* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *pi manati* Senart, *pi [ma]nāti* Bühler.

⁶ *hi* Bühler.

⁷ *aṭhi* Bühler.

⁸ *hi* Bühler.

⁹ Senart and Bühler omit *ti*.

¹⁰ *baṁdha*^o Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler omitted this word.

¹² *jātehi* Bühler.

¹³ *saṁpaṭi*^o Senart, *saṁti*^o Bühler.

¹⁴ *isā[ye]* Bühler.

¹⁵ *nīthu*^o Senart, *nīthu*^o Bühler.

¹⁶ *tulāye* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ *tiye* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁸ *keyū* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁹ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ *uthā[ye]* Bühler.

²¹ *vajita*^o Senart and Bühler.

²² *dekheyi* Senart and Bühler.

²³ *amna ne* Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ *nijha*^o Senart and Bühler.

²⁵ Read *lājāladhi*.

²⁶ *[ma]ne-* Bühler.

²⁷ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

²⁸ Read *amtalā*.

²⁹ *mane* Bühler.

³⁰ Restore *akasmā baṁdhane palikilese*.

³¹ *samyānam* Senart and Bühler.

³² *sāmi* Bühler.

³³ *aphalaka* Bühler.

³⁴ Bühler adds . . *vachanele*; perhaps *sakhinālamhām* is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauti.

³⁵ *vā* Bühler.

³⁶ Restore *nikhāmayisati*.

³⁷ This is probably a remnant of *Takhasilāte*.

12 vachanik[a]¹ ada² [anusa]yānaṃ³ n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne ka[r̥mma]ṃ
 [yitu taṃ pī tathā] kalaṃti [athā]

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.⁴

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.⁵

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people⁶ (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,⁷ must exhort⁸ (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

¹ *javacha*^o Senart, *ājavacha*^o Bühler; cf. *ī[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.

² *tada* Senart, *adā* Bühler.

³ *°saṃyānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ For *suṃvita* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauḷi has the synonym *suṃvihita*.

⁵ Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 862) renders the Dhauḷi version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugada version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpunāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

⁶ For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2.

⁷ As *eve dakḥ[e]jā* corresponds to *hevaṃmeva e da[kheya]* at Dhauḷi, it seems to represent *evam e dakheya*.

⁸ For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya).

(Y) you will be able to

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]

(AA) I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge)¹ a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh

(BB) also the prince (governor) [will send out]

(CC) from [Takshaśī]lā.

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],² they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain³ whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इछामि किति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किछादि सु लाजा अफेसू ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेसु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन ह्येयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेसु खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमित्तं च धमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाधयेयू (I) एताये

¹ See above, p. 5, n. 4.

² See below, p. 117, n. 10.

³ The word *jānisanti* seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhauili version, CC.

- 8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं
च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये
अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति
अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छंदं च वेदित आ मम धिति
पटिंना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितमुखाये
च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधयिमुष मम च
आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू
अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P)
अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चषष संपटिपातयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānampiye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]¹
vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṃ taṃ i[chh]āmi hakaṃ k[iṃ]ti kaṃ
kamana
- 2 paṭipātayehaṃ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa cha me mokhiya-ma[ā]² duvā[la]
etasa a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū
[a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[ti] m[e] savena hita-su-
- 4 kh[e]na yujeyū³ ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]⁴ hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-
munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitā-
- 5 naṃ kiṃ-chhāṃde⁵ su lājā apheṣū ti (H) etākā⁶ [vā] me ichha [a]ṃtesu pāpune-yu
lājā hevaṃ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]⁷
- 6 mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhaṃ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamaṭe [n]o kha[m]⁸
hevaṃ cha pāpune-yu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā
- 7 e s[a]kiye⁹ khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ cha dhamma[m]¹⁰ chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṃ]
cha palalogam cha ālādhayey[ū]¹¹ (I) etāye

¹ *laja*- Senart and Bühler.

² *-mate* Senart, *-matam* Bühler.

³ Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yujeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

⁴ *kena* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *-chhāṃde* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ Read *etākā*, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

⁷ *heyu* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ Read *dukhaṃ*.

⁹ *chha kiye* Senart, *chakiye* Bühler.

¹⁰ The Anusvāra of *maṃ* stands above the line; *dhamma* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ *yeju* Senart and Bühler.

Sep. ed. II

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Sep. ed. I

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BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



SCALE ONE-THIRD

- 8 cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu
chhamda[m cha] vedi-
- 9 [t]u ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (J) sa hevaṁ [ka]tū¹ k[am]me [cha]litaviye
asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
- 10 yu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānaṁ anukampat[i he]vaṁ a[ph]eni
anuka[m]pa[ti] athā pajā he-
- 11 vaṁ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita² [chh]āmdam³ [cha v]e[di]ta⁴
[ā⁵ ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-
- 12 desā-āy[ut]ike⁶ hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-
sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hida-
- 13 logi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṁ cha kalamātaṁ svaga[m cha ā]lādhayisa[tha]
mama cha āna[n]eyaṁ es[a]tha (N) e-
- 14 tāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m lipi li[kh]i[ta] hi[da] e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvataṁ⁷ samam⁸
yujeyū asvāsanāye cha
- 15 dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] amā[nā]m (O) iyaṁ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]asam
s[ota]viyā tisena (P) amā[lā] pi cha sotaviyā
- 16 (Q) khane samātaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]lam[ta]m chaghatha
saṁpaṭipāyit[av]e

TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvaṇāmpriya speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā* have to be told (this) at the word of the king.¹⁰

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

¹ kaṭu Senart and Bühler.

² chhamdam Senart and Bühler.

³ Senart and Bühler omit ā.

⁴ likhitā Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Read °sāsitu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁶ Read veditu; vedāta Senart, vedit[un] Bühler.

⁷ Read desāyutike.

⁸ sasvataṁ Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read samayam.

¹⁰ The derivative [lā]ja-vachanik[a] seems to convey the same meaning as the two words *Devānāmpriyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauli, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,¹ in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.²

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

.....

5 निखमिठ स
 6 (E) हेत इयं होति बंभ
 7 वुढानं दसने च हिरंनपटिविधाने च
 8 धंमानुसथि धंम
 9 .. ये रती होति दे
 10 ने भागे झं ..

5 nikhamiṭha Sa³

6 (E) heta iyaṃ [ho]ti baṃb[ha]

7 vuḍhānaṃ dasane⁴ [cha] hiraṃna-paṭividhāne cha

8 [dha*]mmanusa[thi]⁵ dhamma

9 .. ye [ra]ti⁶ hoti De

10 n[ṭh] bhāge aṃ ..

¹ With *asvāsa[n]iyā* cf. *visvaṃsayitave* on the Sārṇāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.

² The two words *khane samitaṃ* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

³ *nikhamiṭha sam* Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

⁴ These two words are entered above the line.

⁵ *sathi* Bh. I.

⁶ *rati* Bh. I.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसति-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता
- 3 (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाया धंमकामताया
- 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूयाया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 6 धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे वढिता वढीसति चेवा
- 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मझिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-
- 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
- 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-
- 2 vasa-abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā
- 3 (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā
- 4 agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]yāyā agena bhayenā
- 5 agena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
- 6 dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhīsati chevā
- 7 (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā anuvidhīyaṃtī
- 8 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti chā alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemevā aṇṇa-
- 9 mahāmātā pi (G) esa ¹ hi ² vidhī yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne
- 10 dhammena sukhiyanā dhammena gotī ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) ³ is difficult to secure

¹ *esā* Bühler.

² *pi* Senart and Bühler; *hi* is quite distinct on the inked estampages.

³ With the base *pālata*, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb *paratra*, cf. *pāratrika* at Gīrnār (= *pālāntikya* at Kālsī, and *pālātika* elsewhere).

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day¹ and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents² also, both the high ones³ and the low ones,⁴ and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up⁵ fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers⁶ also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.⁷ to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure⁸ according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech)⁹ according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
 11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
 12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपद-
 13 चतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
 14 दाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
 15 अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-
 16 थितिका च होतू ती ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कडती ति

- 10 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja¹⁰
 11 hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave¹¹ bahu kayāne
 12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me¹² bahuvidhe diṇne (E) dupada-

¹ For *suve suve* = Skt. *śvaḥ śvaḥ* (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *suve*.

² I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *pulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII, M.

³ *ukasa* (= *utkarsha*) is used in the sense of *utkrishṭa*.

⁴ This meaning of *gevayā* is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *gevaya* (for **gēvaka*) from the root *gēv*, to which the *Dhātupāṭha* attributes the meaning of *sēv*, 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *supadālaya*, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root *gēv* is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

⁵ For *samādapeti* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *samādiyati*.

⁶ Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jaugada (N).

⁷ For this meaning of *yā iyaṃ* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression *yad idam*.

⁸ Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.

⁹ Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.

¹⁰ *lājā* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*.

¹² A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
 14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-
 16 thitikā cha hotū tī ti¹ (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhati² ti

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?³
 (C) (It includes) few sins,⁴ many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.
 (D) The gift of spiritual insight⁵ also has been bestowed by me in many ways.
 (E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.⁶
 (F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.⁷
 (G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.
 (H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.⁸

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
 21 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस वाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे
 22 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये

¹ The remaining versions read *hotū tī*. Three verses of Manu in which *tī* is doubled are quoted in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kittī* [f] at Kālsī, XII, D.

² An apparent Anusvāra after *ka* is probably accidental.

³ Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 667) explained *kiyaṇ* = Skt. *kiyān*.

⁴ *āsina* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *aṇhaya* which is derived from *ā + snu*; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16, 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23, 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āsrava* or *āsrava*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 822 f.; *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72, 149. With the compound *apāsina* cf. *apa-vyayalā*, *apa-phalam*, and *apa-parisrave* in the Girnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

⁵ Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *maṃsa-chakkhu*, *dibba-chakkhu*, and *paññā-chakkhu*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 62.

⁶ For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict V, D.

⁸ Cf. the same edict, E.

- 17 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhati iyaṃ me
 18 kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ d[e]khati iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave
 19 nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni
 20 āsinava-gāminī nāma atha chaṃḍīye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā
 21 kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bāḍha dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me
 22 hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'

(C) They do not at all¹ regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'²

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.³ Let me not⁴ ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded:

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)⁵ to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
 2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) लजूका मे
 3 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
 4 दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूका अस्वय अभीता

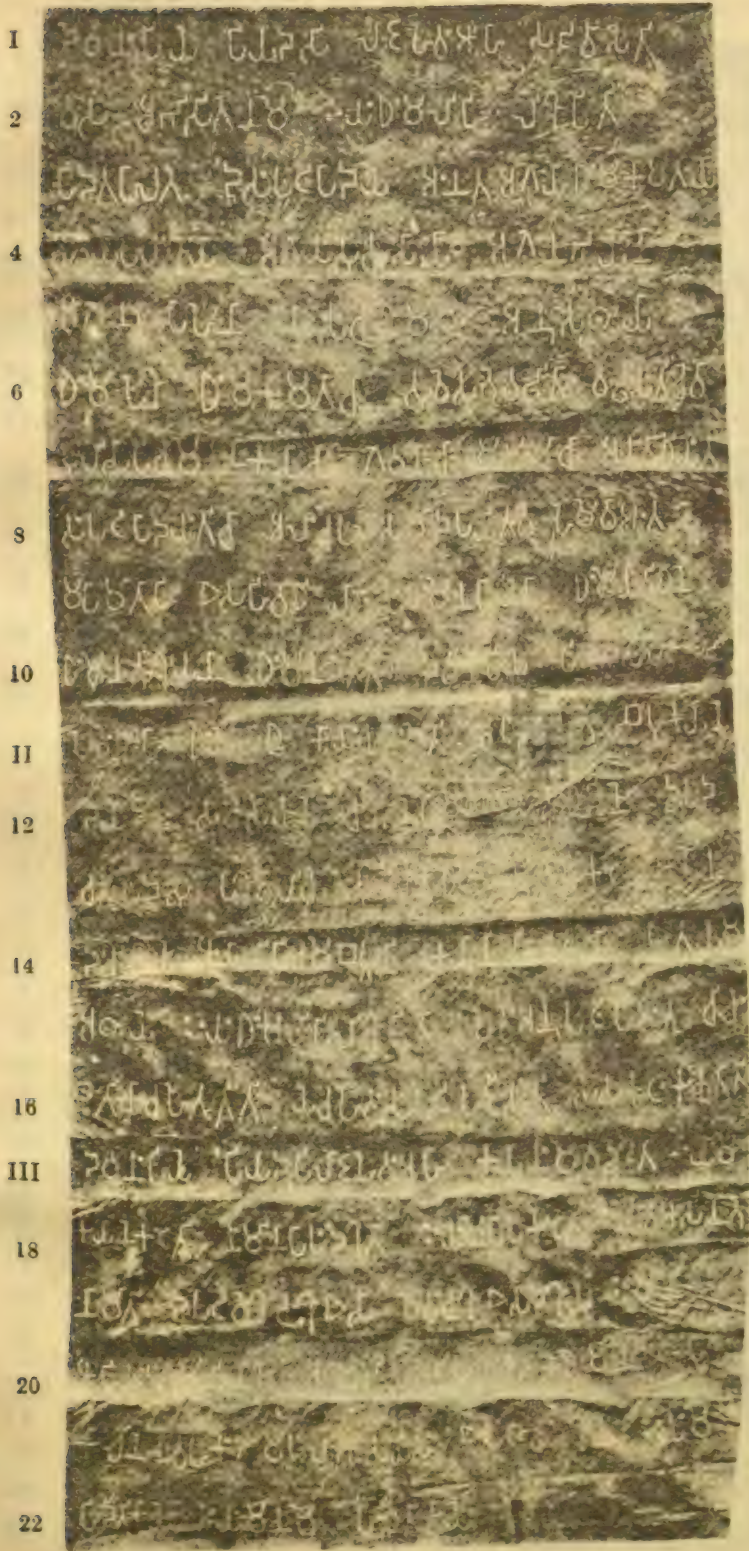
¹ Michelson (IF, 23. 236 f.) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Bühler (EI, 2. 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

² For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4.

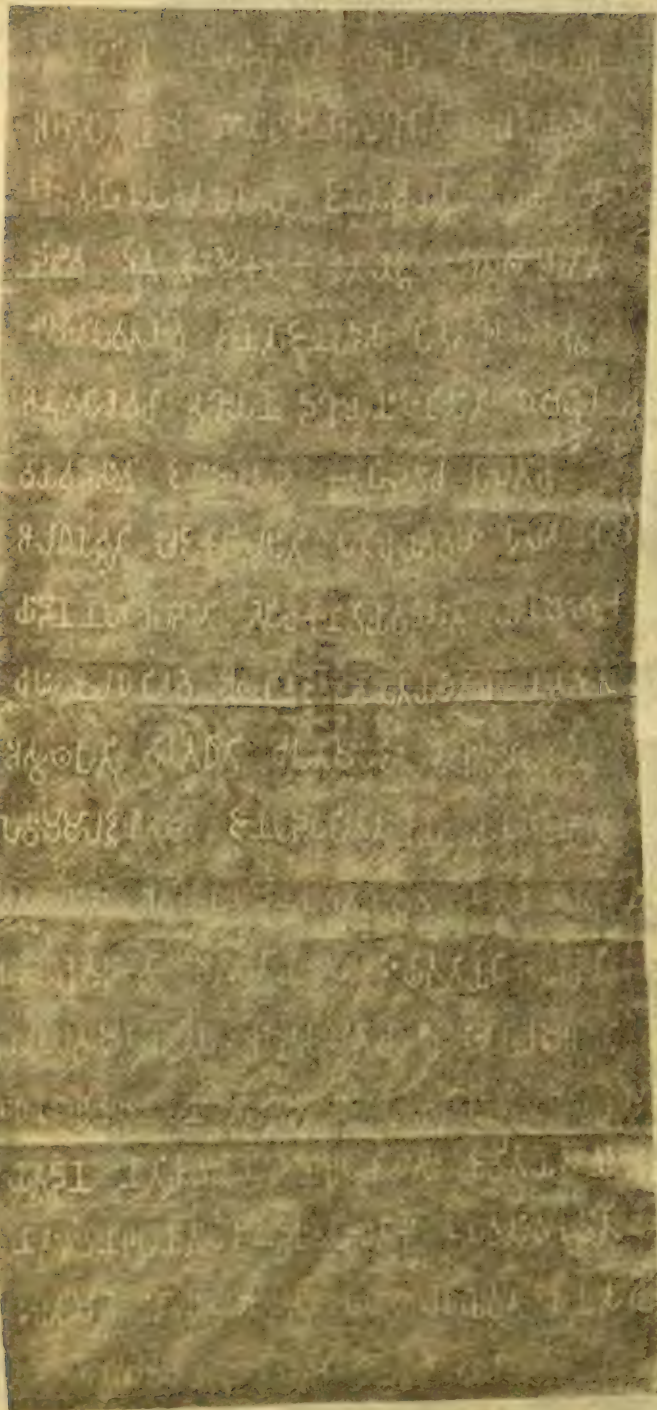
³ With the compound *āsinava-gāminī* cf. *āva-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauri (G) and Jaugaḍa (H).

⁴ See Michelson, IF, 23. 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisaṃ*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmanam*.

⁵ Michelson (IF, 23. 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Bühler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyammana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānaṃmeva* in line 17; *hevaṃmeva* (or *°vā*) in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauri separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F; *sukhaṃmeva* in the Dhauri separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 6.



IV
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5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदंतं च पालतं च
 8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे
 9 छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका
 10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे
 12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता
 13 अस्वथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं
 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एसा किंति
 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अव इते पि च मे आवुति
 16 बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे
 17 योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं
 18 नासंतं वा निरूपयिता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति
 19 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च
 20 वदति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति

1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi l[ā]ja hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me
 3 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu janasi āyatā (D) tesam ye abhihāle vā
 4 daṇḍe vā ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūkā asvatha abhītā
 5 kaṃmāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū
 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha
 7 viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha pālatam cha
 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me
 9 chhamdamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūkā
 10 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu
 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihaṭave
 12 hevaṃ mamā lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā
 13 asvatha samtam avimanā kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam
 14 abh[i]hāle¹ va daṇḍe vā ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kiṃti
 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā chā (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti
 16 bamdhana-badhānam munisānam til[i]ta-daṇḍānam² pata-vadhānam timni
 divasā[n]i me
 17 yote dimne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jivitāye tanaṃ
 18 nāsamtam vā nijhapayitā dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti
 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
 20 vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane samyame dāna-savibhāge ti

¹ abhīhāle Bühler.² tilīta- Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajūkas*¹ are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.²

(D) I have ordered that either rewards³ or punishments are left to their discretion,⁴ in order that the *Lajūkas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure⁵ and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,⁶ in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The *Lajūkas* also must obey me.⁷

(G) They will also obey the agents⁸ who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),⁹ in order that the *Lajūkas* may be able to please me.¹⁰

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent¹¹ nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajūkas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.¹²

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,¹³ for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajūkas*.

¹ For *Lajūka* or *Rājūka* see above, p. 5, n. 2.

² For *āyata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

³ In the *Śātaṅga* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 46, 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 991 f.

⁴ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*; see Franke, VOJ, 9, 347. Cf. *nilathiya* in the Kālsi rock-edict IX, C, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindēi pillar, C.

⁵ Cf. *sukhiyānā* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhāyanā*, VII, V.

⁶ Bühler translated *dhamma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dhamma-yu[ta]m* is an adjective qualifying *janam*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dhama-yute[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dhrama-yutasa* and *dhrama-yutasi* in the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dhamma*]-*yutānam* at Girnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 992) understand the word *dharmayukta* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

⁷ Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 96) compared *laghamti* with Skt. *arhanti*.

⁸ Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisā*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

⁹ For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12.

¹⁰ For *chaghati* = Skt. *sakshyati* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

¹¹ Kern (*Jaartelling*, p. 99) first identified *viyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amarakośa*, has also the meaning of *prājña*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Böhtlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, s.v. *व्याप्त*, and Āsvaghōṣa's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

¹² I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

¹³ *saṃtam* is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913, 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order¹ (reaches) even so far² (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,³ (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade⁴ those (*Lajūkas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),⁵ they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).⁶

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,⁷ they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- 3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
- 4 जतूका अंवाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) f

¹ With *āvuti* = *āyukti* (Senart) cf. *-āvutike* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 8 = *-āy[ut]ike* at Jaugaḍa, II, l. 12; *vishava* at Sāmāth (l. 10), Shāhbāzgarhi, and Mānsehrā, and *visava* at Kālsī = *vi[sa]ya* at Gīrnār, XIII, R; *supadarave* at Mānsehrā = *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, V, G; *sochave* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 28 = *sochaye* in edict II, l. 12.

² Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated *ava ite* (= Skt. *yāvad itaḥ*) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare *āva-gamu[k]e* in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugaḍa (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *yavaṭ*, and *āvā*, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*.

³ With *tilita-damḍa* cf. *tīritam* (*kāryam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-saṁtīraṇā* at Gīrnār, VI, ll. 9, 10.

⁴ Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes *na machchuno nijjhapaṇam karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the *Kautiliya*, p. 146, last line: पुच्छशीलाः समयानुबद्धा वा दोषनिर्णयं [बन्धनस्थानां] ददुः.

⁵ Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained *nāsaṁtam* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nathi* (Skt. *nāsti*).

⁶ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

⁷ Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took *niruddhē 'pi kālē* in the sense of *nirōdha-kālē 'pi*, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *niruddho*.

- 8 एठका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पतके
 9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 10 नो भूपेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो भूपेतविये
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुनमासियं
 12 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा
 13 अनुपोसथं मछे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि
 14 नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये
 17 अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 20 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā.
 3 suke sālīkā aluṇe chakavāke haṃse naṃdimukhe gelāṭe
 4 jatūkā aṃbā-kapilīkā daḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyāke
 5 Gaṃgā-puṇṇake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake paṃna-sase simale
 6 saṃḍake okapiṇḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
 7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati² (C) i³
 8 [e]lakā⁴ chā sūkali chā gābhini va pāyamīnā va avadhi[y . p . ta]ke⁵
 9 pi cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
 10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye
 11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummasīsū tisāyaṃ puṇnamāsīyaṃ
 12 timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā
 13 anuposathaṃ machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā⁶ divasāni
 14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni
 15 no haṃtavīyāni (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ tisāye
 16 punāvasune tīsu chātummasīsū sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye
 17 ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi aṃne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
 18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummasīye chātummasī-pakhāye asvasā gonasā
 19 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye
 20 aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

¹ *daḍi* Bühler ; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read *duḷi*, and the Ailāhabad-Kōsam pillar *duḍi*.

² *khādiyati* Bühler.

³ Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

⁴ Restore *avadhiyā potake*.

⁵ *eḍakā* Bühler.

⁶ *yeva* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.¹ parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandī* *mukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants,² terrapins,³ boneless fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *Gāṅgā-puṇḍaka*, skate-fish,⁴ tortoises⁵ and porcupines, squirrels (?),⁶ the *śṛimara*,⁷ bulls set at liberty,⁸ iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,⁹ white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],¹⁰ ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

¹ *seyathā* = Pāli *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*.

² Michelson (IF, 23. 266 f.) dissolves *ambākapilikā* into **ambāka* (an adjective formed of *ambā*) and **pilikā* (for *pīpilikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapilikā* = Pāli *kīpillika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *ambā-kīpillikā*. Skt. *pīpilikā* has been changed to *kapilikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

³ Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, I. 368) takes *d[u]ṭi* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

⁴ With *sanikuja* Senart (IA, 18. 75) compares Skt. *śāṅkuchi* or *sāṅkuchi*, which may be derived from *sanikuch*, 'to contract'.

⁵ The identification of *kaphaṭa* with Skt. *kamaṭha* is due to Senart; see IA, 18. 75.

⁶ This doubtful explanation of *parṇa-śaśa* was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2. 260.

⁷ This animal is mentioned in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 100, l. 12.

⁸ C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37. 211) remarks that this translation of *saṇḍaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's *Māghadūta* (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (7. 67, 5; 12. 29, 123; 13. 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmaṇvatī. According to the *Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* it is stated that a heifer (*vatsatārī*) was slaughtered by Vālmīki in honour of Vasishṭha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gōghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (*Gṛīhyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śūlagava* or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the *Dīghanikāya*, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, I. 373; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

⁹ According to Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palasata* (= Vēdic *parasvat*) is the original of Pāli *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Āṭaka*, V, p. 406, v. 267, and *palasata* *ibid.*, VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's *Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

¹⁰ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prākṛit form of *ajakā*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *she* in the Queen's edict, l. 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs¹ (and) on the Tishyā full-moon² during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.³

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park⁴ (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,⁵ on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals,⁶ bulls⁷ must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmāsīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) **anointed twenty-six years**, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).⁸

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवादस-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
- 3 हितमुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धंमवढि पापोवा
- 4 (C) हेवं लोकसा हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अय इयं
- 5 नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु

¹ i. e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli (N) and Jaugada (O).

² *tisā* (i. e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tisi* (i. e. **tishī*), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.

³ With the words *dhuvāye chā anuposatham* cf. *anuposatham cha dhuvāye* on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 8.

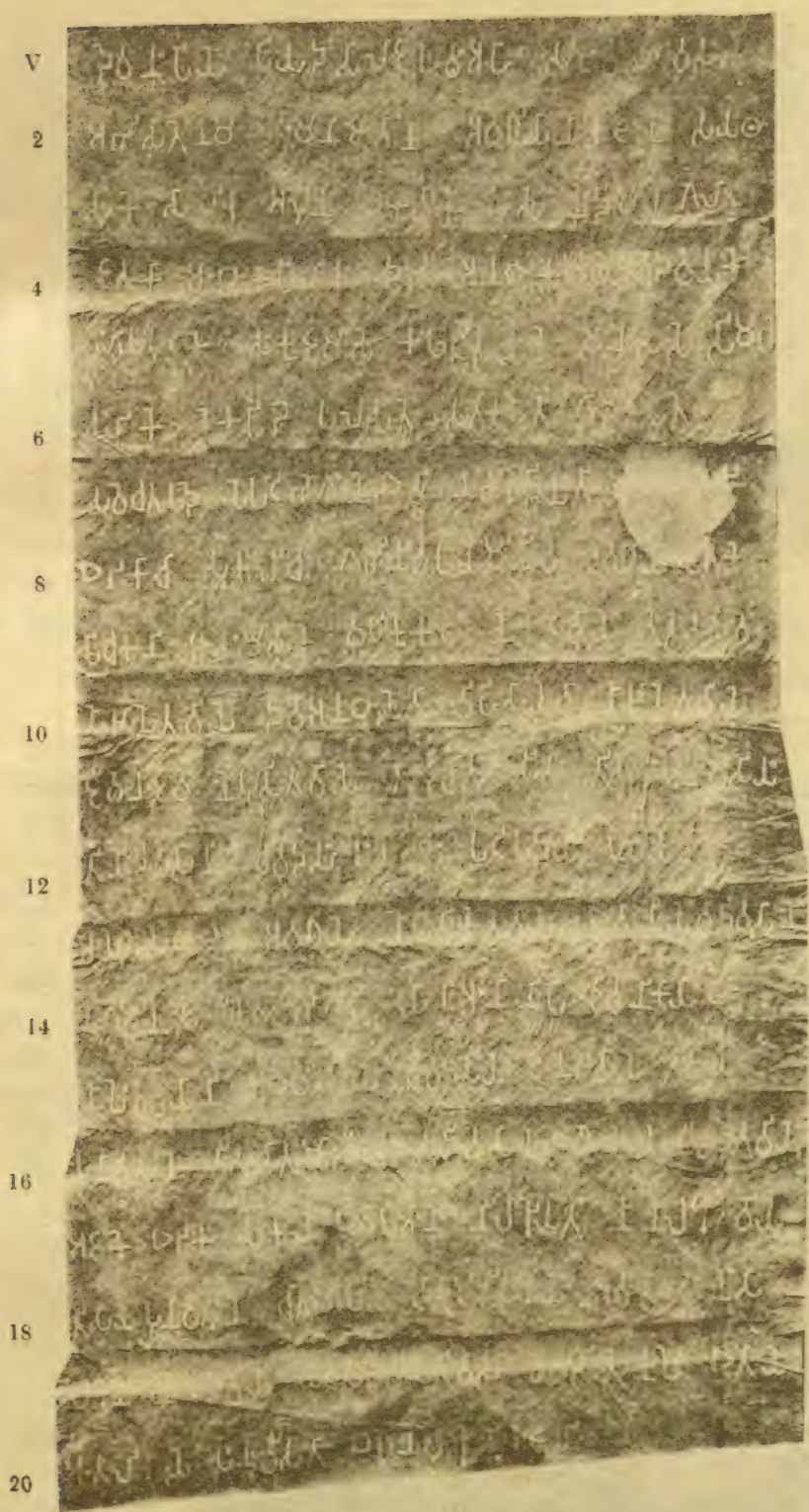
⁴ For *nāga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 50.

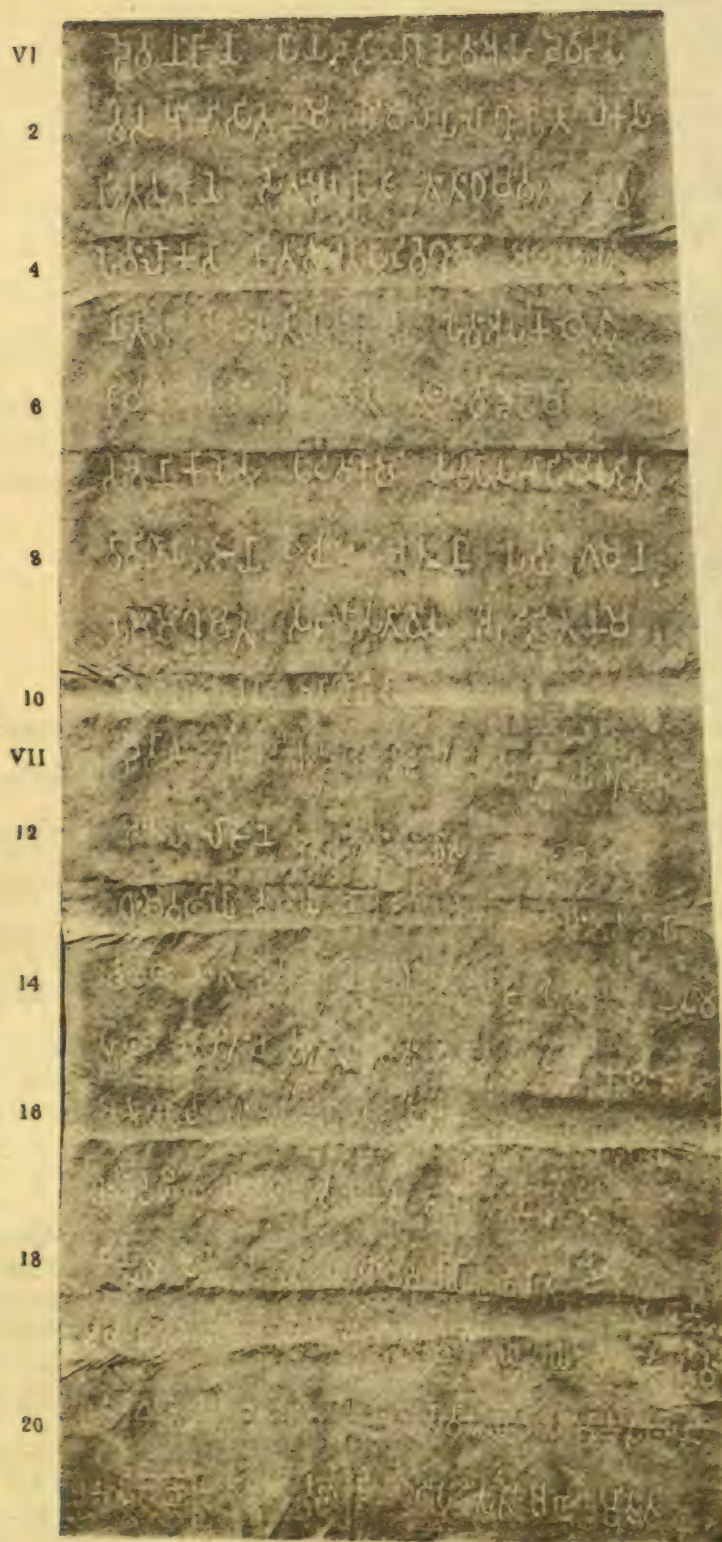
⁵ In the compound *aṭhami-pakha* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

⁶ According to the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

⁷ For *goṇa*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gō*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 393.

⁸ The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407: [विजिगीषुर्नवमवाष्य लब्धं] कारयेत्सर्ववन्धनमोचणं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिवधेत्; [having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsīyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'





- 6 किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा
 7 सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए च इयं अतना पचूपगमने
 9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे
 10 इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) duvāḍasa-
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭṭā taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpovā
 4 (G) hevaṃ lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ
 5 nātisu hevaṃ patiyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
 6 kimaṃ kāni sukhaṃ avahāmi ti tatha cha vīdahāmi (D) hemevā
 7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi¹ (E) sava-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjitā
 8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā² pachūpagamane
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing³ those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only⁴ to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that⁵ I may lead them⁶ to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.⁷

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.⁸

¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

² *atunā* Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

³ Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 92 f.) explained *apahaṭṭā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahaṭṭā* may correspond as well to **a-prahritvā* (Skt. *a-prahritya*), and *pra-hri* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nijhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

⁴ With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathayidam*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

⁵ *kimam* (or *kinmam* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kimti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudam* of Skt. *svīd*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from **kimva* = *kimiva*.

⁶ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),¹ viz.² visiting (the people) personally.³

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं
 12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने
 13 धंमवढिया वढेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया
 14 वढिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे
 15 हुथा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने
 16 अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
 17 धंमवढिया वढिया (F) से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया
 18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति (H) किनसु कानि
 19 अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमवढिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
 20 आहा (J) एस मे हुथा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
 21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 धंमवढिया च बाढं वढिसति (M) एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य सिा पि बहुने जनसि
 आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु
 पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ
 23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने
 धंमथंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम कटे (Q) देवानंपिये
 पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि
 छायोपगानि होसंति पमुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्का लोपापिता (S) अढ-
 कोसिक्कानि पि मे उदुपानानि
 24 खानापापितानि निंसिढया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत
 तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पमुमुनिसानं (U) ल एस पटीभोगे

¹ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, P.

² Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

³ Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and *atanā āgācha* on the Rummindei and Nigālī Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18. 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

- नाम (V) विदिधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेषु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सव डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन वढिता च
- 29 वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलूसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनबलाकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुत्तिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुत्तिया व भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुत्तिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिवि लिखापापिता ति (RR) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमलिवि अत अथि सिलापंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikaṃtaṃ
 12 aṃtalaṃ lājāne husu hevaṃ ichhisu kathaṃ jane
 13 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā
 14 vaḍhithā (C) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (D) esa me
 15 huthā (E) atikaṃtaṃ cha aṃtaṃl[a]ṃ¹ hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne kathaṃ jane
 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā
 17 dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]ṭipajeyā²
 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni
 19 abhyuṃnāmayehaṃ dhamma-vaḍhiyā ti (I) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ
 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini
 21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etaṃ jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyuṃnamisati

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 dhamma-vaḍhiyā cha bādhaṃ vaḍhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhamma-sāvanāni
 sāvāpitāni dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] [is]ā³ pi bahunē
 janasi āyatā e te⁴ paliyovadisānti pi pavithalisānti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu
 pāna-sata-sahasasu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha
 23 janaṃ dhamma-yu[ta]ṃ (O) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me
 anuvekhamāne dhamma-thambhāni kaṭāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma]
 . ā . . . e⁵ kaṭe (Q) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi
 me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosānti pasu-munisānaṃ aṃbā-vaḍikyā
 lopāpitā (S) aḍha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udupānāni
 24 khānāpāpitāni nimsi[dha]yā⁶ cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṃ (U) [la]⁷ esa paṭibhoge nāma
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājīhi mamayā cha sukhayite loka
 (W) imaṃ chu dhammānupaṭipatī anupaṭipajāntu ti etadathā me
 25 esa kaṭe (X) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me
 te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānaṃ cheva gihithānaṃ
 cha sava [d]esu⁸ pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime
 viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti hemeva bābhanesu ā[j]ivikesu pi me kaṭe
 26 ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti nigamṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti nānā-
 pāsāṃdesu pi⁹ me [ka]ṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohaṃti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ
 tesu tesu [te] mātā¹⁰ (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva
 viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha aṃnesu pāsāṃdesu (BB) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ āhā

¹ Read *aṃtalaṃ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² The *pa* of °*pajeyā* is inserted above the line.

³ Restore *yathā pulisā*.

⁴ *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Restore *dhamma-sāvane*.

⁶ *nimsiḍhiyā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *lahuke chu*.

⁸ Restore *sava-pāsāṃdesu*.

⁹ *pi* looks almost like *ghi*.

¹⁰ Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

- 27 (CC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinaṃ cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi¹ hida cheva disāsu cha (DD) dālakānaṃ pi cha me kaṭe amnānaṃ cha devi-kumālānaṃ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭā hohanṭi ti
- 28 dhammāpadānaṭhāye dhammānupaṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhamma-paṭipati cha yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevaṃ vaḍhisati ti (FF) Devānaṃpiye [P s .² l]ājā hevaṃ āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamiyā sādhaṃni kaṭāni taṃ loka anūp[a]ṭipamne taṃ cha anuvidhiyaṃti (HH) tena vaḍhitā cha
- 29 vaḍhisamti cha mātā-pit[i]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānaṃ anupaṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhaṭakesu saṃpaṭipatiyā (II) Devānaṃp[iy . . . ya]dasi³ lājā hevaṃ āhā (JJ) munisānaṃ chu yā iyaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma-niyamena cha nijhatiyā [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyaṃ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .⁴ dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni (NN) nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisānaṃ dhamma-vaḍhi vaḍhitā avihimsāye bhutānaṃ
- 31 anālambhāye pānānaṃ (OO) se etāye a[th]āye⁵ iyaṃ kaṭe putā-papotike chaṃdama-suliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭipajamtu ti (PP) hevaṃ hi anupaṭipajamtaṃ hi[da]ta-[pāla]te āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābhis[i]tena me iyaṃ dhamma-libi likhāpāpitā ti (RR) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye⁶ āhā (SS) iyaṃ
- 32 dhamma-libi ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that 'men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,¹ king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

¹ Bühler (EI, 2. 274, note k) restored *paṭipādāyanti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭivedāyanti*; cf. *praṭivedāyanti* in the Jaugada rock-edict VI, D.

² Restore *Piyadasi*.

³ Restore *°piye Piyadasi*.

⁴ Restore *bahukāni*.

⁵ *athāye* Bühler.

⁶ The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Devānaṃpiye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākapāda* or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

⁷ Franke (GN, 1895. 537) attributes to *katham* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

⁸ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.

(F) How¹ then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?

(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?

(H) How could I elevate² them³ by the promotion of morality?

(I) Concerning this, king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(J) The following occurred to me.

(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,⁴ (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.

(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)⁵ too, who are occupied⁶ with many⁷ people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.

(N) The *Lajūkas*⁸ also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner⁹ exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter),¹⁰ I have set up pillars of morality,¹¹ appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.

(Q) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,¹² (and) mango-groves¹³ were caused to be planted.

¹ Senart (IA, 18. 302) explains *kināsu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēna-svit*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *assu*. For *su* = *svit* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

² With the optative *°nāmayeham* cf. [*pa*][*ti*][*pāday*]*eham* and *ālabheham* in the Dhauī separate edict I, B, and *yeham* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

³ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁴ Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyam sāvāṇe sāvāpīte* at Brahmagiri (l. 5), for which the Śiddhāpura edict (l. 11) reads [*iya*]*m sāvāṇe sāvīte*, and the Rūpnāth edict (l. 3) *sāvāṇe kaṭe*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dhamma-sāvanāni* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

⁵ See above, p. 120, n. 2.

⁶ See above, p. 95, n. 4.

⁷ With the locative *bahune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvasune* in the pillar-edict V, ll. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

⁸ See above, p. 124, n. 1.

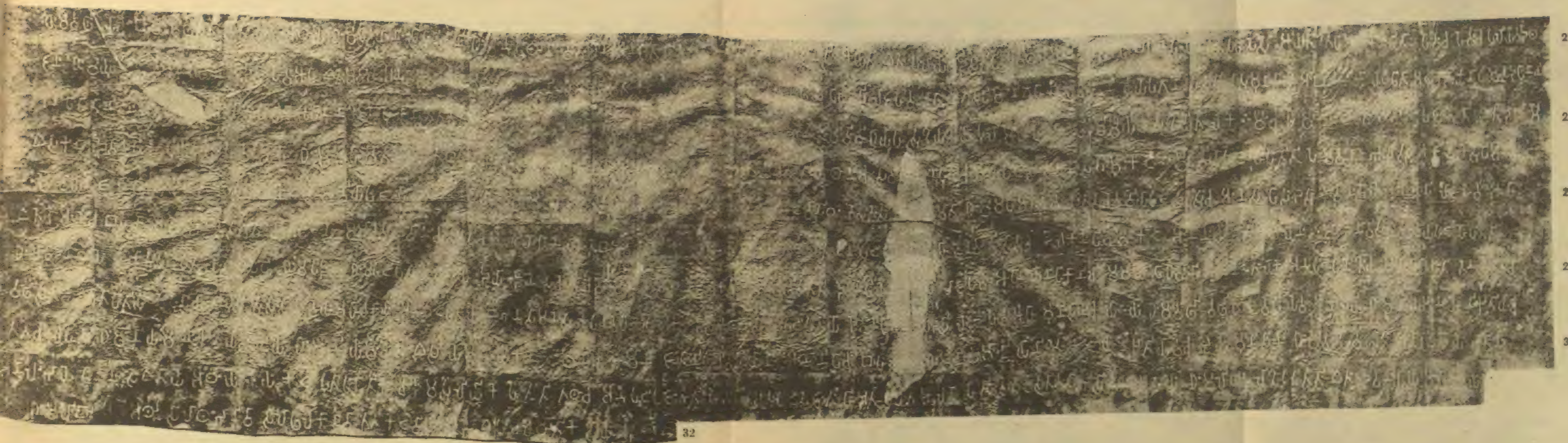
⁹ Cf. the Dhauī separate edict I, l. 12.

¹⁰ *anuvehkamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

¹¹ As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

¹² Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

¹³ In *ambā-vaḍikā* and *adha-[kos]ikya* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes *-kā* and *-ika* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kālsī; see there *nātikya*, *pālanītikya*, &c. The form *ambā-vaḍikā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *ambā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābikā-bhati* (= **āmrikā-bhṛiti*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vaḍikā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. **vṛitīkā* (= *vṛitī*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vāṭikā*, presupposes the form **vartīkā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.



(S) And (at intervals) of eight *kōs*¹ wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water)² were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places³ were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men.

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].⁴

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose:⁵ that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(Y) Those⁶ my *Mahāmātras* of morality too are occupied⁷ with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

¹ Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 401 ff.) showed that *aḍha* here represents Skt. *aśṭan*, and not *ardha*. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Bāṇa, and Kauṭilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one *yōjana* = eight *kōs* = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

² Bühler read *nimsiḍhiyā*, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with *nishidiyā* (from Skt. *nishidati*) in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also *Arahata-nisidiyā-samīpe* in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhi *sedhi* = Skt. **śliṣṭhi*. As *sedhi* is synonymous with Skt. *śrēṇi*, he attributes to *nimsiḍhiyā* the sense of Skt. *nistrayanī*, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is *nimsi[dha]yā*, which would correspond to Skt. **niśliṣṭakā*. For the change of *śl* to *ms* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74, and for *dh* = original *sh* cf. *aḍha* = *aśṭa* at the beginning of section S.

³ With *āpāna* cf. *prapā* in the Nāsik cave-inscription No. 10, l. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palitānā plates of Śiṃhāditya (EI, 11. 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, *The Northern Barrier of India* (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnūr the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindūs brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśōka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindī *bahāngī*, Dravidian *kāvaḍi*) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharkut*, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

⁴ A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

⁵ For *athā* = *athāya* see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. *artha* is generally represented by *aṭha*, the form *atha* (with dental *th*) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of *etadathā* (IF, 23. 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

⁶ The pronoun *te* seems to refer to section P, above.

⁷ Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) has pointed out that *viyāpaṭāse*, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākṛit equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in *-āsah*. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.

(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves¹ with the affairs of the *Samgha*; ² likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the *Brāhmaṇas* (and) *Ājivikas*; ³ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the *Nirgranthas*; ⁴ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).⁵

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)⁶ are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity⁷ both here⁸ and in the provinces.

(DD) And others⁹ were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,¹⁰ in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.¹¹ compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas*, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

¹ Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

² i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

³ For the *Ājivika* sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

⁴ i. e. the Jaina monks.

⁵ As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

⁶ As at *Shāhbāzgarhī* (XIII, 8) and *Mānsehrā* (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mukhya* (= Skt. *mukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *bahukā mukhā* by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

⁷ Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tūṭhāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushṭy-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i. e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatana* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushṭa* in the sense of *tushṭi*.

⁸ viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

⁹ Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

¹¹ See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā iyaṃ* we may have to supply *dhanime*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

(II) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.¹

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.²

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine),³ and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,⁴ (happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, Dēvānāmpriya says.⁵

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that⁶ this may be of long duration.

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 नं धमेन विधाने

2 धमे

1 [naṁ] dhaṁmen[a] v[i]dh[āne]

2 dha[me]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आ . . (B) धंमे साधु कियं मे ति

2 (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाना पि मे

¹ Literally; 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works *nidhyapti* has the meaning 'reflection'.

² See the pillar-edict V.

³ Cf. *puta-papotike chaṁdama-sūriyike* on the Sāmchī pillar, C, *ā-chaṁdama-shūliyam* in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and *ā-chandrārkaṁ* in Sanskrit inscriptions.

⁴ See above, p. 97, n. 3.

⁵ This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above, p. 133, n. 6.

⁶ *ena* is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, Y, and II, I and M.

- 3 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-
 4 गहे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि
 5 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता
 6 अनुपटिपजंतू चिलंथितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च
 7 सति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 1 (A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piye Piyadasi lāja¹ [hevaṃ ā] . . (B) dh[aṃ]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m̐
 [m]e ti
 2 (C) a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā² [pi me]
 3 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-
 4 gahe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m̐]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]
 5 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi li[khāpitā]
 6 anupaṭipajantū chil[am̐-th]itika cha hot[ū] ti (H) ye [cha]
 7 [sa]ti se sukaṭaṃ ka[chha]tī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे
 2 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व
 3 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
 4 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे
 5 माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) बाढं
 6 देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja³ hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānaṃm[eva de]
 2 kayāne kaṭe ti⁴ (C) no min[ā] pāpaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāp[e⁵ kaṭe ti iyaṃ va]
 3 āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]paṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho [esa⁶ de]khiye
 4 (F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṃḍ[i]ye ni[tḥū]li[y]e k[o]dhe
 5 māne isyā kālanena [va] hakaṃ mā palibha[sa]yi[sa]m̐ (G) bā[ḍham]
 6 dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṃ me pālatikāye

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1
 2 क चघंति आलाधयितवे
 3 तु अस्वये होति
 4 विय लिहटवे हेवं ममा
 5 लजूक ये (J) येन एते अभीता

¹ lāja Bühler.

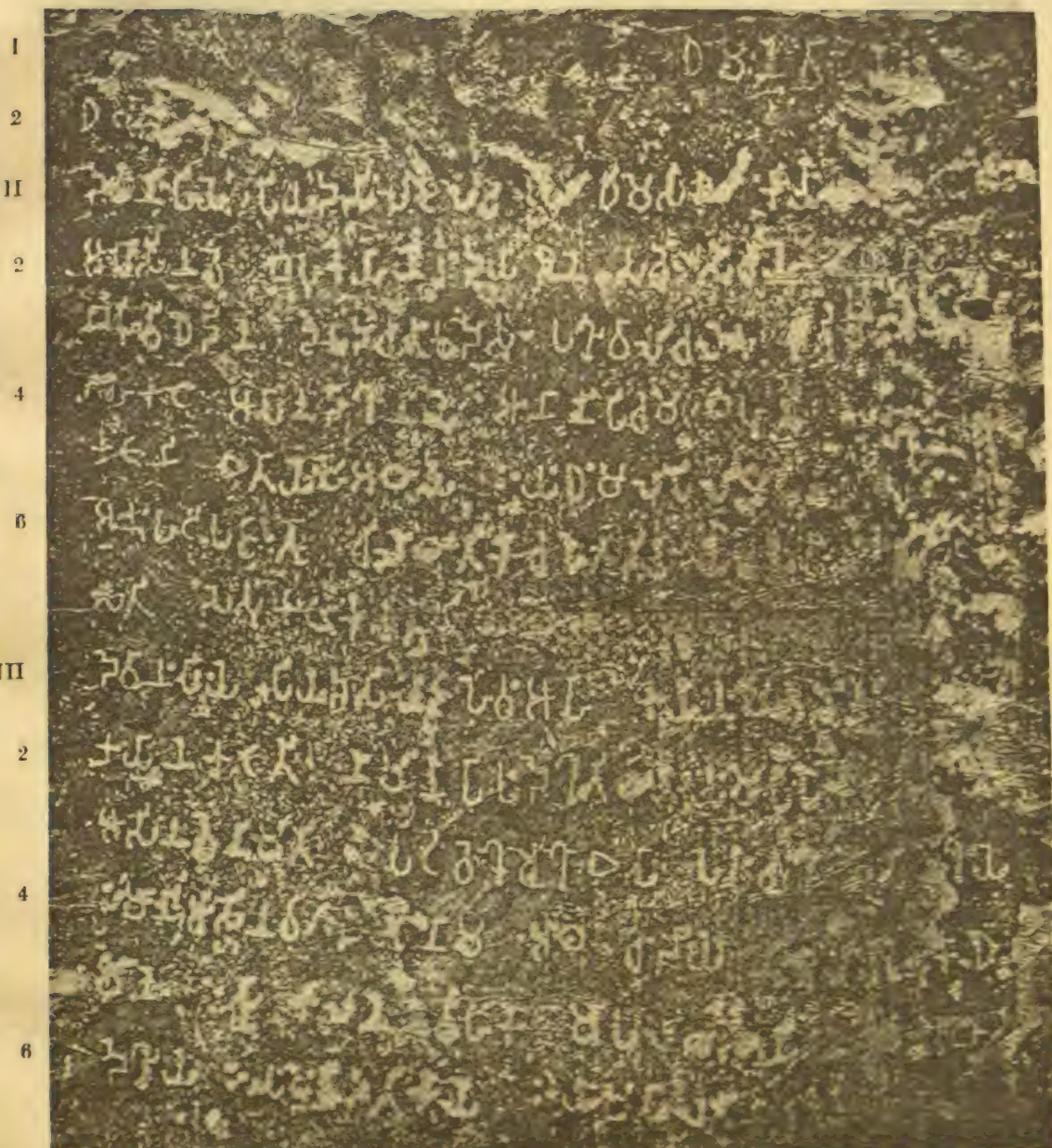
³ lāja Bühler.

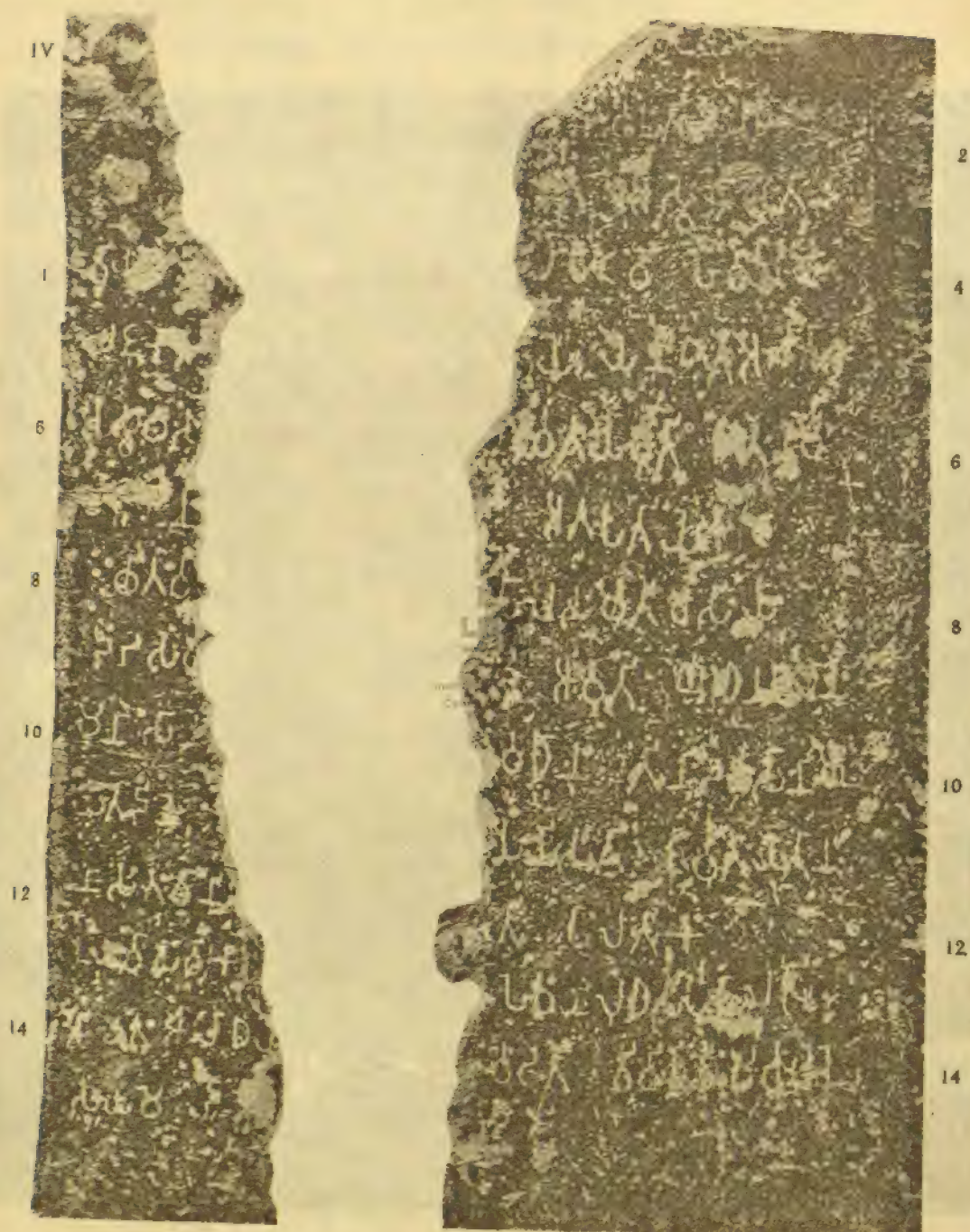
⁶ . . sā Bühler.

² -[dā]nam Bühler.

⁴ ti Bühler.

⁵ pāpaṃ Bühler.





SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 6 अस्वथ सं पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे
 7 लजूकानं अतपतिये कटे
 8 (K) इच्छितवि हालसमता च सिया
 9 दंडसम मे आवुति बंधनवधानं
 10 मुनिसानं वधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे
 11 योते दिने (M) पयिसंति जीविताये तानं
 12 नासंतं वा नि ति पालतिकं
 13 उपवासं वा क हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि
 14 पालतं आलाधये वढति विविधे धंमचलने
 15 संयमे दान

- 1
 2 [ka]¹ chaghamti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave]
 3 tu asvathe² [ho]ti
 4 vi[ya] [l]i[ha]tave hev[am mam]ā
 5 [la]jūk[a]³ ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]itā
 6 asvatha sam [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na] me
 7 [la]jū[kā]n[am] ata-patiye kaṭ[e]
 8 (K) ichhitavi [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā
 9 daṇḍa-sa[ma] [me] āvuti [ba]m̐dhana-[badh]ānam
 10 munisā[nam] vadhānam timni di[va]sāni [m]e
 11 y[o]te dinne (M) payisa[m]ti j[i]v[i]tāye tāna[m]
 12 nāsaṁtaṁ [v]ā ni ti pālatakaṁ
 13 u[pa]vāsaṁ vā k[a] hevaṁ niludhasi pi [k]ālasī
 14 pā[la]taṁ ālādha[ye] vadhati vividhe dhamma-chal[a]ne
 15 samyame dā[na]

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

- 1 पोतके पि च कानि
 2 के (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 3 तविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो
 4 आपेतविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु
 5 तिसायं पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चाबुदसं पंनडसं
 6 पटिपदा धुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि
 7 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवढभोगसि
 8 यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो हंतवियानी

¹ [la]jūkā] Bühler.² asva[the] Bühler.³ lajūk[ā] Bühler.

- 9 (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
 11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि
 12 अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने
 13 चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने
 14 नो विये (L) यावसुदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 15 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 [potake¹ pi cha] k[ā]n[i]
 2 ke (D) [vadh]i-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]
 3 ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]naṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) jī[v]ena j[iv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tisu chāturmāsīsu²
 5 [t]isāya[m] pu[r]na[m]ā[si]ya[m] tirmni divasāni chāvudasa[m] paṁnaḍasa[m]
 6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye³ cha anuposatha[m] machhe avadhiye no pi
 7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi
 8 y[ā]ni aṁnāni pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]ntaviyāni⁴
 9 (J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye⁵ [chā]vudasāye paṁ[na]ḍasāye tisāye
 10 punāvasune tisu chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye gone
 11 no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eḷake⁶ sūkale e vā pi
 12 aṁ[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
 13 chāturmāsīye chātu[r]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane
 14 no [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvisati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye
 15 a[r]talikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

.

- 1पगमने से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडु
 2सितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लि

- 1ūpagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu
 2isitena me iyaṁ dhamma-li[pi] li

¹ On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

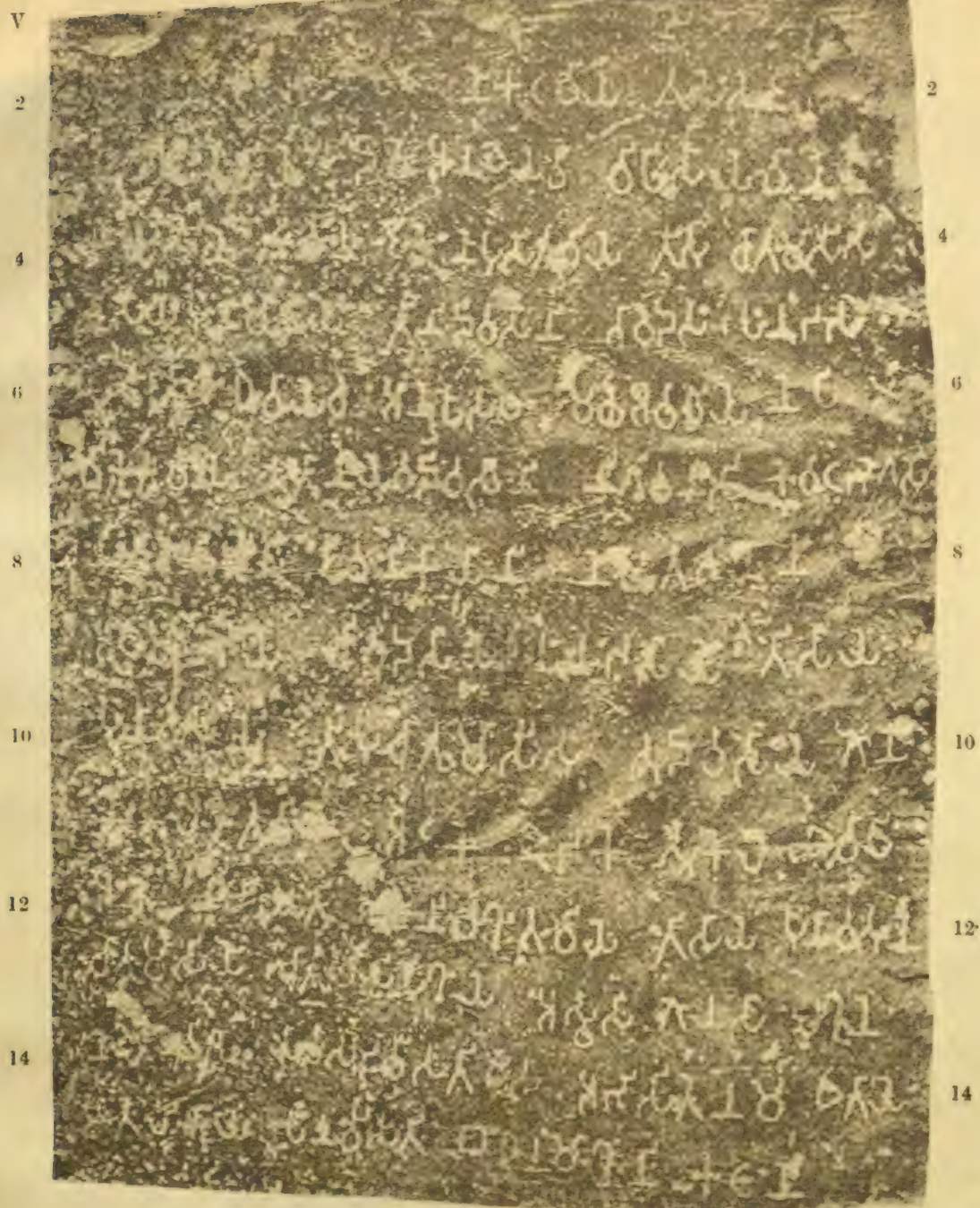
² Read *chāturm*.

³ *dhuwāye* Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

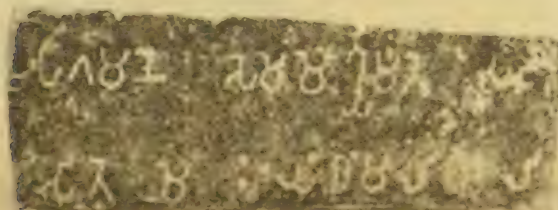
⁴ *yāni* Bühler.

⁵ *aṭham[ī]*- Bühler.

⁶ *eḷake* Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.



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III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धम्मलिपि
2 लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धम्मकामताय अगाय
पलीखाय
3 अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय
धम्मापेख
4 धम्मकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया
च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति
5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G)
एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-li[p]i
2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya
palikhāy[a]
3 agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
dhammāpekha¹
4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita² vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti
5 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇta-mahāmātā
pi (G) eṣā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana
6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[i]yana dhammena goti ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे
2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु
विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

- 3 आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
अठाये इयं धमलिपि लिखापित हेवं
- 4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं
कच्छति ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache
- 2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-
vālichaesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe
- 3 ā pāna-dakhināye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ
- 4 anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se
sukataṃ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
- 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये
- 3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
- 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye
- 3 niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bāḍham
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me palatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
- 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक
अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
- 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धमयुतेन च
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च
- 4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं

- 5 लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं मुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 6 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं
अछिमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व
- 7 दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय
दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं
- 8 मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका
व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व
- 9 निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं
निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति
- 10 (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसंविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
- 2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va d[a]mḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
- 3 hita-sukham upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanam jānisanti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha
- 4 pālataṃ cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi
me chhamdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ
- 5 lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paṃjam¹ sukham palihaṭave ti
- 6 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā
saṃtaṃ achhimana² kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihāle va
- 7 damḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya
damḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānam
- 8 munisā[na]m tilita-damḍānam pata-vadhānam tiṃni divasāni me yote diṃne (M)
nātikā va kāni nijhapayisanti jīvitāye tānam nāsaṃtaṃ va
- 9 nijhapayī[ta]ve dānam dāhamti pālatikaṃ upavāsam va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me
hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti
- 10 (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dāna-saṃvibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवधानि
- 2 कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक
- 3 अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके

¹ Read *pajam*.

² Read *avimana*.

- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे
 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च
 गभिनी व पायमीना व
 6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 नो ज्ञापयितविये (F) दावे
 7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H)
 तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं
 8 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
 मछे अवध्ये नो पि
 9 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि
 पि जीवन्तिकायानि
 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु
 चातुंमासीसु
 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळवे¹ सूकले ए वा पि अंने
 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस लखने
 नो कटविये
 13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति बंधन-
 मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me
 imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni
 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka
 3 ambā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṃgā-pupūṭake saṃkuja-machhe
 kaphaṭa-seyake
 4 paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save
 chatupade
 5 ye paṭipogaṃ² no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha
 gabhinī va pāyamīnā va
 6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajiwe
 no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
 7 anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu
 chāturmāsīsu tīsyam
 8 puṃnamāsiyam tiṃni divasāni chāvudasam paṃnaḷasam³ paṭipadam dhuvāye cha
 anuposatham machhe avadhye no pi
 9 vīketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi
 jīva-nik[ā]yāni

¹ duḷi Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JR. AS.*, 1911. 1087.

² Read *paṭibhogam*.

³ *paṃnaḷasam* Bühler.

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- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁṇaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tisu chātumṁmāsīsu
 11 sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake¹ sūkale e vā pi aṁne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
 12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātumṁmāsīye chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
 13 (L) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁṇavīsati baṁdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस
 2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि
 3 अथा इयं नातिमु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेव अपकटेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि
 4 (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
 5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa
 2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahāṭa taṁ taṁ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi
 3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsanneṣu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi
 4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṇḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
 5 se me mukhya-mute² (G) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
 2 धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हितपालते दुसंपटिपादये अनंत अगाय धंमकामताय
 3 अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम

¹ edake Bühler.² See above, p. 35, n. 10.

- 4 अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा
पि मे
- 5 उकसा च गेवया च मग्ग्मा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alam
chapalam samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

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SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखि-
वाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे
बहूनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
चिलंथितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya¹ chu dhamme
ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni
kayānāni

- 4 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu
chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti
- 5 (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukataṃ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं
- 2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
- 3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्य
कालनेन व हकं
- 4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ
- 2 dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho
esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye
- 3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni¹ nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya
kālanena va hakaṃ
- 4 mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṃ dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana
me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे
- 2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये
मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ
- 3 अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं
- 4 जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति
- 5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि
च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे

¹ āsinave Bühler.

- 6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति
मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं
अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि एस
किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं
तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं
उपवासं व कच्छंति (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे
धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānar̥piye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṇḍe va
ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhīta kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū
anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ
- 4 jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisanti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha
pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti
- 5 paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhamdamnāni paṭichalisanti (H) te pi
cha kāni viyovadisanti yena maṃ lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me
pajam sukham palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā
saṃtaṃ avimana kammāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa
kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlita-daṇḍānaṃ
pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni me [yo]te diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisanti jīvitāye tānaṃ nāsantaṃ va nijhapayi[tav]e dānaṃ dāhamti
pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālatam ālādhayevū t[i] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe
dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 2 4 6

5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29 31 33 35 37 39 41 43 45 47 49 51 53 55 57 59 61 63 65 67 69 71 73 75 77 79 81 83 85 87 89 91 93 95 97 99 101 103 105 107 109 111 113 115 117 119 121 123 125 127 129 131 133 135 137 139 141 143 145 147 149 151 153 155 157 159 161 163 165 167 169 171 173 175 177 179 181 183 185 187 189 191 193 195 197 199 201 203 205 207 209 211 213 215 217 219 221 223 225 227 229 231 233 235 237 239 241 243 245 247 249 251 253 255 257 259 261 263 265 267 269 271 273 275 277 279 281 283 285 287 289 291 293 295 297 299 301 303 305 307 309 311 313 315 317 319 321 323 325 327 329 331 333 335 337 339 341 343 345 347 349 351 353 355 357 359 361 363 365 367 369 371 373 375 377 379 381 383 385 387 389 391 393 395 397 399 401 403 405 407 409 411 413 415 417 419 421 423 425 427 429 431 433 435 437 439 441 443 445 447 449 451 453 455 457 459 461 463 465 467 469 471 473 475 477 479 481 483 485 487 489 491 493 495 497 499 501 503 505 507 509 511 513 515 517 519 521 523 525 527 529 531 533 535 537 539 541 543 545 547 549 551 553 555 557 559 561 563 565 567 569 571 573 575 577 579 581 583 585 587 589 591 593 595 597 599 601 603 605 607 609 611 613 615 617 619 621 623 625 627 629 631 633 635 637 639 641 643 645 647 649 651 653 655 657 659 661 663 665 667 669 671 673 675 677 679 681 683 685 687 689 691 693 695 697 699 701 703 705 707 709 711 713 715 717 719 721 723 725 727 729 731 733 735 737 739 741 743 745 747 749 751 753 755 757 759 761 763 765 767 769 771 773 775 777 779 781 783 785 787 789 791 793 795 797 799 801 803 805 807 809 811 813 815 817 819 821 823 825 827 829 831 833 835 837 839 841 843 845 847 849 851 853 855 857 859 861 863 865 867 869 871 873 875 877 879 881 883 885 887 889 891 893 895 897 899 901 903 905 907 909 911 913 915 917 919 921 923 925 927 929 931 933 935 937 939 941 943 945 947 949 951 953 955 957 959 961 963 965 967 969 971 973 975 977 979 981 983 985 987 989 991 993 995 997 999 1001 1003 1005 1007 1009 1011 1013 1015 1017 1019 1021 1023 1025 1027 1029 1031 1033 1035 1037 1039 1041 1043 1045 1047 1049 1051 1053 1055 1057 1059 1061 1063 1065 1067 1069 1071 1073 1075 1077 1079 1081 1083 1085 1087 1089 1091 1093 1095 1097 1099 1101 1103 1105 1107 1109 1111 1113 1115 1117 1119 1121 1123 1125 1127 1129 1131 1133 1135 1137 1139 1141 1143 1145 1147 1149 1151 1153 1155 1157 1159 1161 1163 1165 1167 1169 1171 1173 1175 1177 1179 1181 1183 1185 1187 1189 1191 1193 1195 1197 1199 1201 1203 1205 1207 1209 1211 1213 1215 1217 1219 1221 1223 1225 1227 1229 1231 1233 1235 1237 1239 1241 1243 1245 1247 1249 1251 1253 1255 1257 1259 1261 1263 1265 1267 1269 1271 1273 1275 1277 1279 1281 1283 1285 1287 1289 1291 1293 1295 1297 1299 1301 1303 1305 1307 1309 1311 1313 1315 1317 1319 1321 1323 1325 1327 1329 1331 1333 1335 1337 1339 1341 1343 1345 1347 1349 1351 1353 1355 1357 1359 1361 1363 1365 1367 1369 1371 1373 1375 1377 1379 1381 1383 1385 1387 1389 1391 1393 1395 1397 1399 1401 1403 1405 1407 1409 1411 1413 1415 1417 1419 1421 1423 1425 1427 1429 1431 1433 1435 1437 1439 1441 1443 1445 1447 1449 1451 1453 1455 1457 1459 1461 1463 1465 1467 1469 1471 1473 1475 1477 1479 1481 1483 1485 1487 1489 1491 1493 1495 1497 1499 1501 1503 1505 1507 1509 1511 1513 1515 1517 1519 1521 1523 1525 1527 1529 1531 1533 1535 1537 1539 1541 1543 1545 1547 1549 1551 1553 1555 1557 1559 1561 1563 1565 1567 1569 1571 1573 1575 1577 1579 1581 1583 1585 1587 1589 1591 1593 1595 1597 1599 1601 1603 1605 1607 1609 1611 1613 1615 1617 1619 1621 1623 1625 1627 1629 1631 1633 1635 1637 1639 1641 1643 1645 1647 1649 1651 1653 1655 1657 1659 1661 1663 1665 1667 1669 1671 1673 1675 1677 1679 1681 1683 1685 1687 1689 1691 1693 1695 1697 1699 1701 1703 1705 1707 1709 1711 1713 1715 1717 1719 1721 1723 1725 1727 1729 1731 1733 1735 1737 1739 1741 1743 1745 1747 1749 1751 1753 1755 1757 1759 1761 1763 1765 1767 1769 1771 1773 1775 1777 1779 1781 1783 1785 1787 1789 1791 1793 1795 1797 1799 1801 1803 1805 1807 1809 1811 1813 1815 1817 1819 1821 1823 1825 1827 1829 1831 1833 1835 1837 1839 1841 1843 1845 1847 1849 1851 1853 1855 1857 1859 1861 1863 1865 1867 1869 1871 1873 1875 1877 1879 1881 1883 1885 1887 1889 1891 1893 1895 1897 1899 1901 1903 1905 1907 1909 1911 1913 1915 1917 1919 1921 1923 1925 1927 1929 1931 1933 1935 1937 1939 1941 1943 1945 1947 1949 1951 1953 1955 1957 1959 1961 1963 1965 1967 1969 1971 1973 1975 1977 1979 1981 1983 1985 1987 1989 1991 1993 1995 1997 1999 2001 2003 2005 2007 2009 2011 2013 2015 2017 2019 2021 2023 2025 2027 2029 2031 2033 2035 2037 2039 2041 2043 2045 2047 2049 2051 2053 2055 2057 2059 2061 2063 2065 2067 2069 2071 2073 2075 2077 2079 2081 2083 2085 2087 2089 2091 2093 2095 2097 2099 2101 2103 2105 2107 2109 2111 2113 2115 2117 2119 2121 2123 2125 2127 2129 2131 2133 2135 2137 2139 2141 2143 2145 2147 2149 2151 2153 2155 2157 2159 2161 2163 2165 2167 2169 2171 2173 2175 2177 2179 2181 2183 2185 2187 2189 2191 2193 2195 2197 2199 2201 2203 2205 2207 2209 2211 2213 2215 2217 2219 2221 2223 2225 2227 2229 2231 2233 2235 2237 2239 2241 2243 2245 2247 2249 2251 2253 2255 2257 2259 2261 2263 2265 2267 2269 2271 2273 2275 2277 2279 2281 2283 2285 2287 2289 2291 2293 2295 2297 2299 2301 2303 2305 2307 2309 2311 2313 2315 2317 2319 2321 2323 2325 2327 2329 2331 2333 2335 2337 2339 2341 2343 2345 2347 2349 2351 2353 2355 2357 2359 2361 2363 2365 2367 2369 2371 2373 2375 2377 2379 2381 2383 2385 2387 2389 2391 2393 2395 2397 2399 2401 2403 2405 2407 2409 2411 2413 2415 2417 2419 2421 2423 2425 2427 2429 2431 2433 2435 2437 2439 2441 2443 2445 2447 2449 2451 2453 2455 2457 2459 2461 2463 2465 2467 2469 2471 2473 2475 2477 2479 2481 2483 2485 2487 2489 2491 2493 2495 2497 2499 2501 2503 2505 2507 2509 2511 2513 2515 2517 2519 2521 2523 2525 2527 2529 2531 2533 2535 2537 2539 2541 2543 2545 2547 2549 2551 2553 2555 2557 2559 2561 2563 2565 2567 2569 2571 2573 2575 2577 2579 2581 2583 2585 2587 2589 2591 2593 2595 2597 2599 2601 2603 2605 2607 2609 2611 2613 2615 2617 2619 2621 2623 2625 2627 2629 2631 2633 2635 2637 2639 2641 2643 2645 2647 2649 2651 2653 2655 2657 2659 2661 2663 2665 2667 2669 2671 2673 2675 2677 2679 2681 2683 2685 2687 2689 2691 2693 2695 2697 2699 2701 2703 2705 2707 2709 2711 2713 2715 2717 2719 2721 2723 2725 2727 2729 2731 2733 2735 2737 2739 2741 2743 2745 2747 2749 2751 2753 2755 2757 2759 2761 2763 2765 2767 2769 2771 2773 2775 2777 2779 2781 2783 2785 2787 2789 2791 2793 2795 2797 2799 2801 2803 2805 2807 2809 2811 2813 2815 2817 2819 2821 2823 2825 2827 2829 2831 2833 2835 2837 2839 2841 2843 2845 2847 2849 2851 2853 2855 2857 2859 2861 2863 2865 2867 2869 2871 2873 2875 2877 2879 2881 2883 2885 2887 2889 2891 2893 2895 2897 2899 2901 2903 2905 2907 2909 2911 2913 2915 2917 2919 2921 2923 2925 2927 2929 2931 2933 2935 2937 2939 2941 2943 2945 2947 2949 2951 2953 2955 2957 2959 2961 2963 2965 2967 2969 2971 2973 2975 2977 2979 2981 2983 2985 2987 2989 2991 2993 2995 2997 2999 3001 3003 3005 3007 3009 3011 3013 3015 3017 3019 3021 3023 3025 3027 3029 3031 3033 3035 3037 3039 3041 3043 3045 3047 3049 3051 3053 3055 3057 3059 3061 3063 3065 3067 3069 3071 3073 3075 3077 3079 3081 3083 3085 3087 3089 3091 3093 3095 3097 3099 3101 3103 3105 3107 3109 3111 3113 3115 3117 3119 3121 3123 3125 3127 3129 3131 3133 3135 3137 3139 3141 3143 3145 3147 3149 3151 3153 3155 3157 3159 3161 3163 3165 3167 3169 3171 3173 3175 3177 3179 3181 3183 3185 3187 3189 3191 3193 3195 3197 3199 3201 3203 3205 3207 3209 3211 3213 3215 3217 3219 3221 3223 3225 3227 3229 3231 3233 3235 3237 3239 3241 3243 3245 3247 3249 3251 3253 3255 3257 3259 3261 3263 3265 3267 3269 3271 3273 3275 3277 3279 3281 3283 3285 3287 3289 3291 3293 3295 3297 3299 3301 3303 3305 3307 3309 3311 3313 3315 3317 3319 3321 3323 3325 3327 3329 3331 3333 3335 3337 3339 3341 3343 3345 3347 3349 3351 3353 3355 3357 3359 3361 3363 3365 3367 3369 3371 3373 3375 3377 3379 3381 3383 3385 3387 3389 3391 3393 3395 3397 3399 3401 3403 3405 3407 3409 3411 3413 3415 3417 3419 3421 3423 3425 3427 3429 3431 3433 3435 3437 3439 3441 3443 3445 3447 3449 3451 3453 3455 3457 3459 3461 3463 3465 3467 3469 3471 3473 3475 3477 3479 3481 3483 3485 3487 3489 3491 3493 3495 3497 3499 3501 3503 3505 3507 3509 3511 3513 3515 3517 3519 3521 3523 3525 3527 3529 3531 3533 3535 3537 3539 3541 3543 3545 3547 3549 3551 3553 3555 3557 3559 3561 3563 3565 3567 3569 3571 3573 3575 3577 3579 3581 3583 3585 3587 3589 3591 3593 3595 3597 3599 3601 3603 3605 3607 3609 3611 3613 3615 3617 3619 3621 3623 3625 3627 3629 3631 3633 3635 3637 3639 3641 3643 3645 3647 3649 3651 3653 3655 3657 3659 3661 3663 3665 3667 3669 3671 3673 3675 3677 3679 3681 3683 3685 3687 3689 3691 3693 3695 3697 3699 3701 3703 3705 3707 3709 3711 3713 3715 3717 3719 3721 3723 3725 3727 3729 3731 3733 3735 3737 3739 3741 3743 3745 3747 3749 3751 3753 3755 3757 3759 3761 3763 3765 3767 3769 3771 3773 3775 3777 3779 3781 3783 3785 3787 3789 3791 3793 3795 3797 3799 3801 3803 3805 3807 3809 3811 3813 3815 3817 3819 3821 3823 3825 3827 3829 3831 3833 3835 3837 3839 3841 3843 3845 3847 3849 3851 3853 3855 3857 3859 3861 3863 3865 3867 3869 3871 3873 3875 3877 3879 3881 3883 3885 3887 3889 3891 3893 3895 3897 3899 3901 3903 3905 3907 3909 3911 3913 3915 3917 3919 3921 3923 3925 3927 3929 3931 3933 3935 3937 3939 3941 3943 3945 3947 3949 3951 3953 3955 3957 3959 3961 3963 3965 3967 3969 3971 3973 3975 3977 3979 3981 3983 3985 3987 3989 3991 3993 3995 3997 3999 4001 4003 4005 4007 4009 4011 4013 4015 4017 4019 4021 4023 4025 4027 4029 4031 4033 4035 4037 4039 4041 4043 4045 4047 4049 4051 4053 4055 4057 4059 4061 4063 4065 4067 4069 4071 4073 4075 4077 4079 4081 4083 4085 4087 4089 4091 4093 4095 4097 4099 4101 4103 4105 4107 4109 4111 4113 4115 4117 4119 4121 4123 4125 4127 4129 4131 4133 4135 4137 4139 4141 4143 4145 4147 4149 4151 4153 4155 4157 4159 4161 4163 4165 4167 4169 4171 4173 4175 4177 4179 4181 4183 4185 4187 4189 4191 4193 4195 4197 4199 4201 4203 4205 4207 4209 4211 4213 4215 4217 4219 4221 4223 4225 4227 4229 4231 4233 4235 4237 4239 4241 4243 4245 4247 4249 4251 4253 4255 4257 4259 4261 4263 4265 4267 4269 4271 4273 4275 4277 4279 4281 4283 4285 4287 4289 4291 4293 4295 4297 4299 4301 4303 4305 4307 4309 4311 4313 4315 4317 4319 4321 4323 4325 4327 4329 4331 4333 4335 4337 4339 4341 4343 4345 4347 4349 4351 4353 4355 4357 4359 4361 4363 4365 4367 4369 4371 4373 4375 4377 4379 4381 4383 4385 4387 4389 4391 4393 4395 4397 4399 4401 4403 4405 4407 4409 4411 4413 4415 4417 4419 4421 4423 4425 4427 4429 4431 4433 4435 4437 4439 4441 4443 4445 4447 4449 4451 4453 4455 4457 4459 4461 4463 4465 4467 4469 4471 4473 4475 4477 4479 4481 4483 4485 4487 4489 4491 4493 4495 4497 4499 4501 4503 4505 4507 4509 4511 4513 4515 4517 4519 4521 4523 4525 4527 4529 4531 4533 4535 4537 4539 4541 4543 4545 4547 4549 4551 4553 4555 4557 4559 4561 4563 4565 4567 4569 4571 4573 4575 4577 4579 4581 4583 4585 4587 4589 4591 4593 4595 4597 4599 4601 4603 4605 4607 4609 4611 4613 4615 4617 4619 4621 4623 4625 4627 4629 4631 4633 4635 4637 4639 4641 4643 4645 4647 4649 4651 4653 4655 4657 4659 4661 4663 4665 4667 4669 4671 4673 4675 4677 4679 4681 4683 4685 4687 4689 4691 4693 4695 4697 4699 4701 4703 4705 4707 4709 4711 4713 4715 4717 4719 4721 4723 4725 4727 4729 4731 4733 4735 4737 4739 4741 4743 4745 4747 4749 4751 4753 4755 4757 4759 4761 4763 4765 4767 4769 4771 4773 4775 4777 4779 4781 4783 4785 4787 4789 4791 4793 4795 4797 4799 4801 4803 4805 4807 4809 4811 4813 4815 4817 4819 4821 4823 4825 4827 4829 4831 4833 4835 4837 4839 4841 4843 4845 4847 4849 4851 4853 4855 4857 4859 4861 4863 4865 4867 4869 4871 4873 4875 4877 4879 4881 4883 4885 4887 4889 4891 4893 4895 4897 4899 4901 4903 4905 4907 4909 4911 4913 4915 4917 4919 4921 4923 4925 4927 4929 4931 4933 4935 4937 4939 4941 4943 4945 4947 4949 4951 4953 4955 4957 4959 4961 4963 4965 4967 4969 4971 4973 4975 4977 4979 4981 4983 4985 4987 4989 4991 4993 4995 4997 4999 5001 5003 5005 5007 5009 5011 5013 5015 5017 5019 5021 5023 5025 5027 5029 5031 5033 5035 5037 5039 5041 5043 5045 5047 5049 5051 5053 5055 5057 5059 5061 5063 5065 5067 5069 5071 5073 5075 5077 5079 5081 5083 5085 5087 5089 5091 5093 5095 5097 5099 5101 5103 5105 5107 5109 5111 5113 5115 5117 5119 5121

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे
3 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
4 गंगापुपुठके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे
5 पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो रूपयितविये (F)
दावे अनटाये व
- 8 बिहिसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु
चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
मछे अवध्ये
- 10 नो पि विक्केतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिक्कायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनळसाये
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिक्साये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए
वा पि अंने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-
पखाये अस्वस गोणस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse
3 naṇḍīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka āmbā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
4 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okapimḍe

¹ *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in *JRAS*, 1911. 1087.

- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati
 6 (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni
 7 āsammasike (D) vadhi-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anathāye va
 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu chātummāsīsu tisiyam
 9 punnamāsīyam timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ¹ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhya
 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi
 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṃnaḷasāye² tisāye punāvasune
 12 tisu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake³ sūkale e vā pi amne
 13 nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye paṃnavīsati
 15 baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित
 2 लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस
 3 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु
 4 किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि
 5 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
 6 से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhisitena⁴ me dhamma-lipi likhāpita
 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lokasa
 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
 4 kiṃmaṃ kāni sukhaṃ āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi
 5 (E) sava-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ atana pachūpa-gamane
 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvisati-va[s]ābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

¹ paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.

² paṃnaḷasāye Bühler.

³ eḷake Bühler.

⁴ duvāḍasa- Bühler.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च
- 4 गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva¹ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṭa-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena goti ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे
- 2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
- 3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyāṃ chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me

- 2 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni
 3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampāṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhatī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये
 3 कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
 2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye
 3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bāḍhaṃ dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथे अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
 4 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुल्लिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक
 5 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट
 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे
 7 (K) इद्धितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं

[illegible]

- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निरूपयिसंति जीविताये
तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कञ्चंति
- 9 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस
च वढति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
- 2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale¹ va daṃḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
- 3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanaṃ jānisamti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kiṃti hidatam cha
pālatam cha
- 4 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me
chhamdamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam
lajūka
- 5 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi² pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti
viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihāṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka
kaṭa
- 6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā samtam avimana kaṃmāni
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihāle va daṃḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe
- 7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti² viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā
ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānam munisānam tilita-daṃḍānam
pata-vadhānam
- 8 timni divasāni me [y]ote diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jivitāye tānam
nāsamtam va nijhapayitave dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti
- 9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवधानि कटानि सेयथ
- 2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्वाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंवाकपिलिक दुळि
अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते
सेतकपोते
- 4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि
एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

¹ Read *abhihāle*.² *kiti* Bühler.

- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो रूपयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिंसाये व नो रूपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो
पुस्तितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवध्ये नो
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो
हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये
- 9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये
अजके एळके सूकले
- 10 ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये
चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोमस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-[va]sābhisitena me
imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdimukhe gelāṭe jatūka ambā-kapilika duḷi
anāthika-machhe vedaveyake
- 3 Gaṃgā-puṇṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okaṇḍe palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni
eḷakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va
- 5 pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye
(E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anāthāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye
(H) tisu chātummā[s]isu tisyaṃ puṇnamāsiyaṃ
- 7 timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposatham
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtavīyāni
(J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye
- 9 paṃnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tisu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no
nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi amne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye
chātummāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye
paṃnavisati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिमु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa
- 2 taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu kiṃmaṃ kāni
- 3 sukhaṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṃḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ
- 4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvīsati[i]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 3 धंमापेखा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढिता वढिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipāda[y]e
- 2 aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

- 3 dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā
pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyānti sampatipādayānti cha
4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) herimeva¹ amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
yā [i]yam dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyanā
dhammena [gut]i [ti² cha]³

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे
2 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ
पानदखिनाये (F) अनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलठितीका
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कच्छती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne
pi me
2 bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu⁴ pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe
kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni⁵ kayānāni kaṭāni
3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chila-
ṭhitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampatipajisati se sukaṭam kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
नामा ति
.....
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā
āsinave nāmā ti
.....

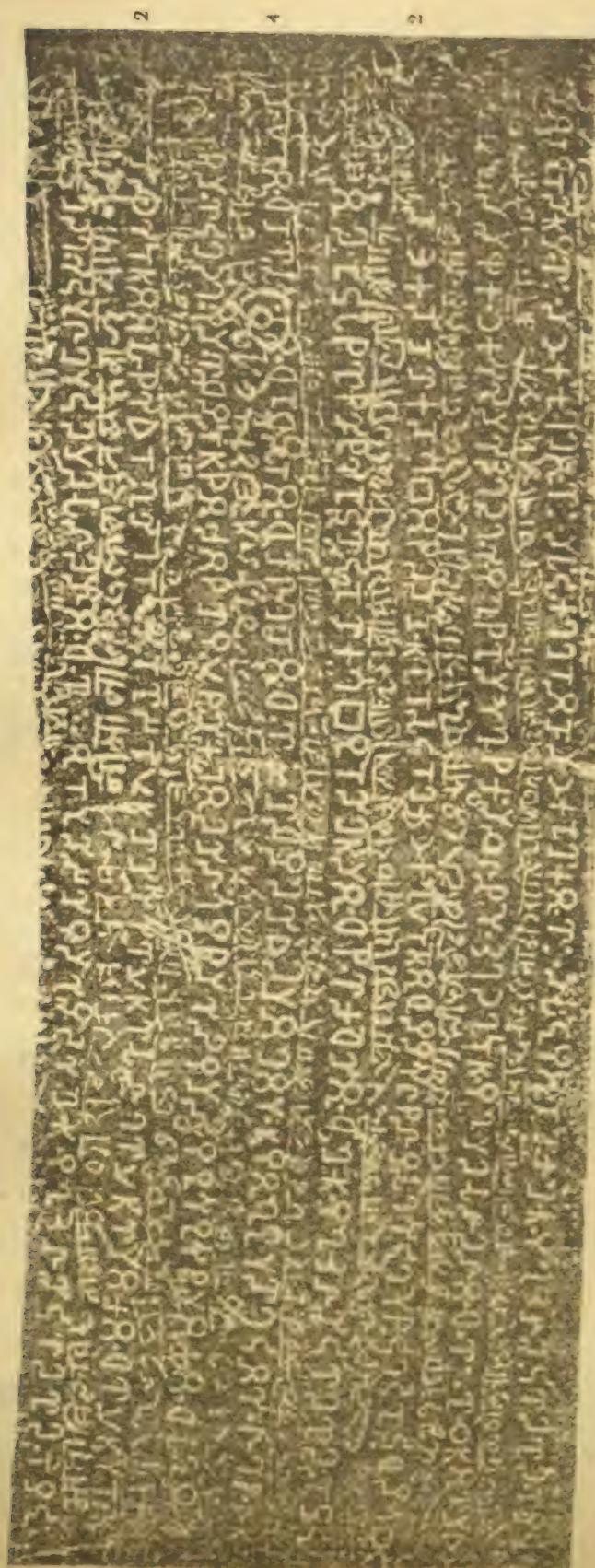
¹ *hemeva* Bühler.

² As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.

³ *chu* Bühler.

⁴ The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada*- is probably accidental.

⁵ *bahuni* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि
एस किंति
- 2 लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति
बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि योते दिंने
- 3 (M) का व कानि निहपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निहपयिता
दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कच्छंति
- 4 (N) हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च
वढति विविधे धम्मचलने समये दानसविभागे

- 1 [kānaṃ abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā ata-pa]t[i]y[e kaṭe] (K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]
h[i] e]s[a] k[iṃ]t[i]¹
- 2 la-sama[t]ā cha² siyā da[m]ḍa-samatā cha (L) āva³ ite pi cha me āvuti
baṇḍhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlīta-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ tiṃni divasāni
yote diṃne
- 3 (M) [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jīvītāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ vā nijhapayitā dānaṃ
dāhaṃti pālatikaṃ upavāsaṃ vā [ka]chha[m]ti
- 4 (N) [h]i me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālatiṃ ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha
vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे
इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके
- 2 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अंवाकिपिलिका दुडी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट के पंससे सिमले संड ..
- 3 तकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो
ना पायमी ..
- 4 सजीवे नो भाप
5 नि चावुदसं पंचद
6 नि
7
8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या

¹ Bühler omitted this line.² *chā* Bühler.³ *ava* Bühler.

- 1 (A) [p]iye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālīkā alune chaka[v]āke
2 [naṃdī]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]¹ āmbā-kipilikā duḍi² anāṭhika-machhe³
vedaveyake Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa k[e] p[a]ṃna-
sase simale saṃḍa ...
3 [ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogaṃ [no]
..... nā [p]ā[ya]mī ...
4 sajīve no jhā[pa]
5 [n]i chā[v]u[da]saṃ [pa]ṃcha[da]
6 [n]i
7
8 [lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

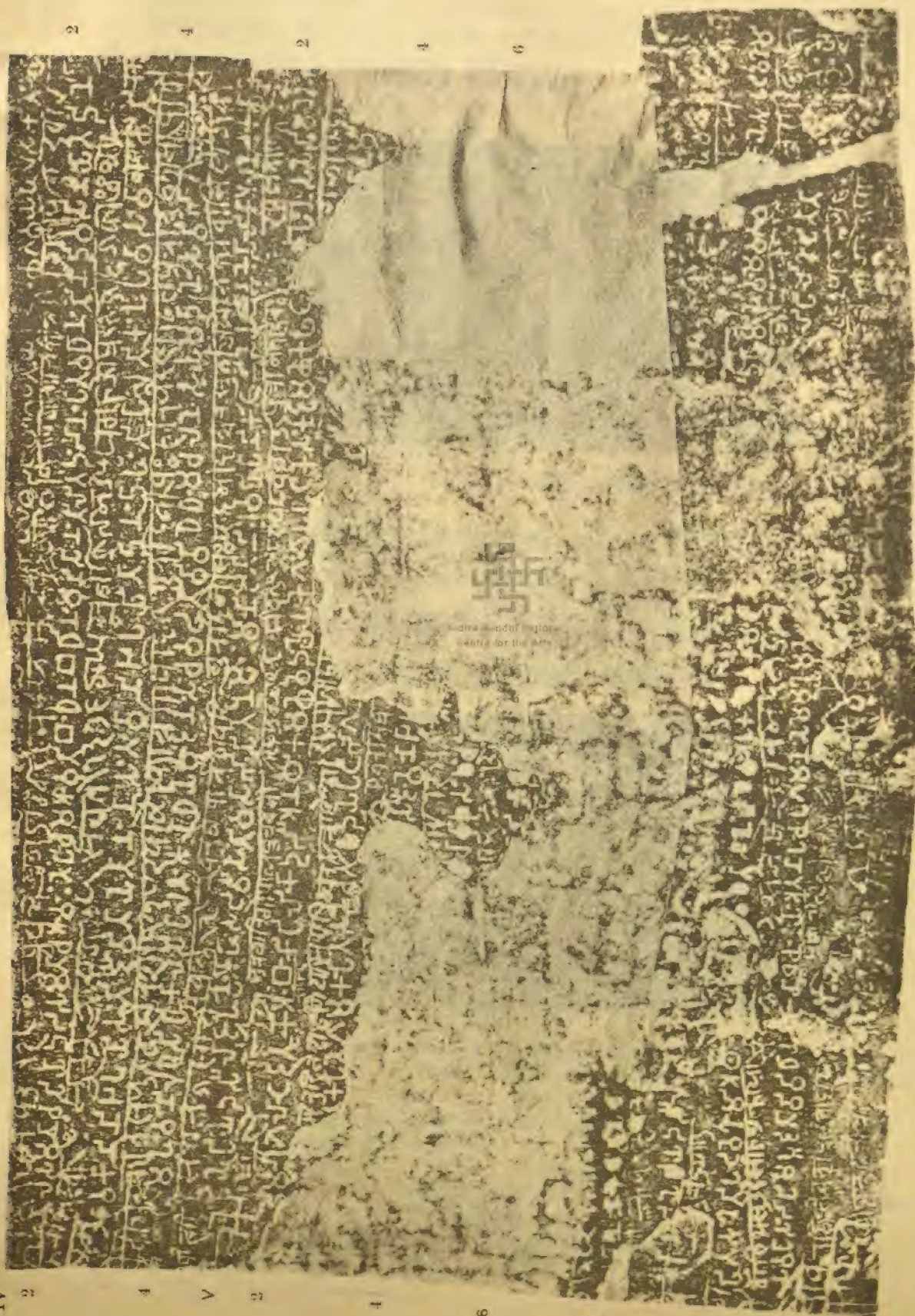
- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी ला तं ढि पा
(C) हेवं लोकस
2 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं वं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु
किमं कानि विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव .. कायेसु
पटिवेखामि
3 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) लिपी लिखापिता ति

- 1 (A) [p]iye [P]iyada[s]ī l[ā] t[am] [dh]i [pā]
(C) heva[m lokasa]
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]m [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su heva]m
apaka[th]e[su] kimam [k]ā[ni] [v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevaṃmeva [sa]va
.. [k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjītā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atana
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) lipī⁴ likhāpitā ti

B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

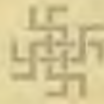
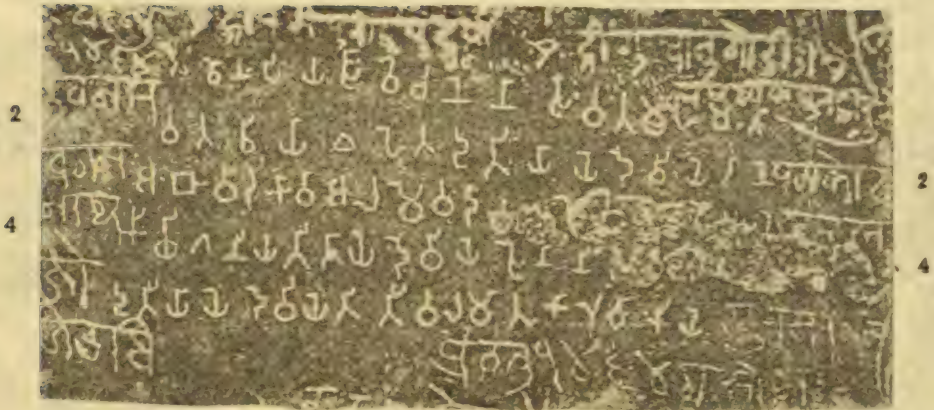
- 1 (A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
3 अंबावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अंने
4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये षे नानि (C) हेवं .. न ..
5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये

¹ jatūke Bühler.² daḍi Bühler.³ anathika- Bühler.⁴ lipi Bühler.



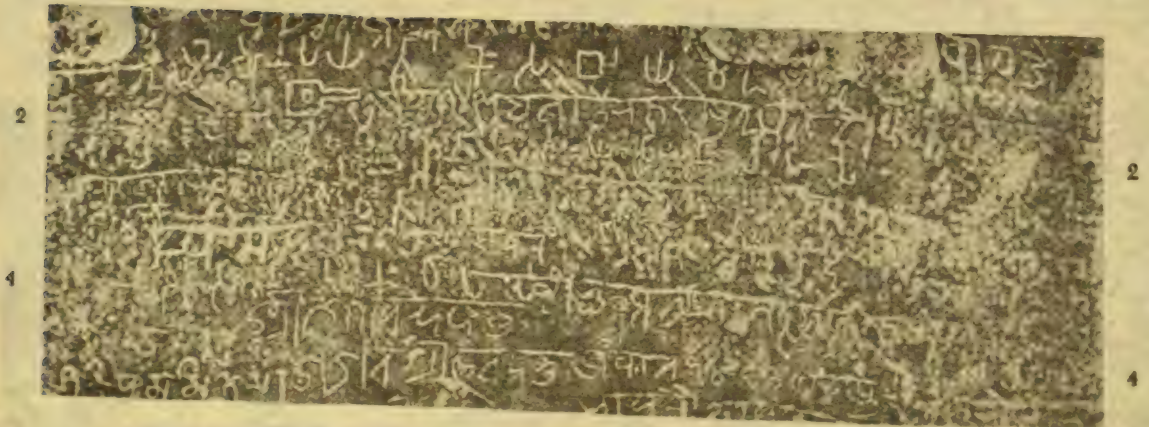
SCALE ONE-FIFTH

QUEEN'S EDICT



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KAUSAMBI EDICT



- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyashā v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā¹
 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā² dutiyāye deviye dāne
 3 āmbā-vaḍikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va³ e vā pi a]mne
 4 kīchhi ganīyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vaṁ . . [na] . .⁴
 5 dutiyāye deviye ti Tivala-mātu Kāluvākiye

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the *Mahāmātras* everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves,⁵ or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these⁶ (shall) be registered⁷ (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tivala,⁸ the Kāluvāki.⁹

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये आनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
 2 समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
 3 संघं भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा से पि चा
 4 ओदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [Devānam*[p]iye ānapayati (B) Kosambiyam¹⁰ mahām[ā]ta¹¹
 2 [sa]ma[ge ka]t[e] (D) sa[m]gh[a]si no¹² l[a]hiye¹³
 3 [saṁgham bhā]khati¹⁴ bhikh[u] v[ā]¹⁵ bhikh[u]ni¹⁶ vā [se pi] chā¹⁷
 4 [o*]dāt[ā]ni¹⁸ dusāni [sa]nāndhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i]¹⁹ āv[ā]sayiy[e]²⁰

¹ mahāmatā Senart and Bühler.

² hetā Senart and Bühler.

³ vā Bühler.

⁴ Restore perhaps *vinati* (= Skt. *viñāpti*); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

⁶ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

⁷ With *ganīyati* cf. *gaṇana* or *gaṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.

⁸ Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kōsala; see Fleet's *Gupta Insers.*, p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.

⁹ As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtra* of the Kārus.

¹⁰ *biya* Bühler and Boyer.

¹¹ *mahamāta* Bühler and Boyer.

¹² *na* Bühler and Boyer.

¹³ *chi ye* Bühler.

¹⁴ *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

¹⁵ *va* Bühler.

¹⁶ *bhi[khu]ni* Bühler.

¹⁷ [pa]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

¹⁸ The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.

¹⁹ *āna[pe]sa* Bühler, *ānāvasasi* Boyer.

²⁰ *avā* Boyer.

TRANSLATION

(A) [Dēvānām]priya commands (thus).

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī¹

(C) is made united.²

(D) should not be received³ into the *Samgha*.

(E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the *Samgha*,⁴ should be caused to put on white robes⁵ and to reside⁶ in a non-residence.⁷

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

1

2 .. या भेत्त .. (C) .. घे .. मगे कटे

3 भिखूनं च भिखुनीनं चा ति पुतप-

4 पोतिके चंदमसूरियिके (D) ये संघं

5 भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-

6 नि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावा-

7 ससि वासापेतविये (E) इच्छा हि मे किं-

8 ति संघे समगे चिलथितीके सिया ति

1

2 .. [y]ā⁸ bhe[ta] ..⁹ (C) .. [gh]e¹⁰ mage¹¹ kaṭe

3 [bhi*]khūna[m] cha¹² bhi[khun]īna[m] ch[ā]¹³ ti [p]uta-pa-

¹ This ancient city (*Kausāmbī* in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsam; see Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 2, and EI, II. 141.

² Cf. the Sāmchī pillar, C.

³ *lahiye* may be derived from the root *labh*; cf. the gerundive *āvāsaiye* in l. 4 of this inscription, and in l. 5 of the Sārnāth pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10. 121) connects *lahiye* with the root *rah*.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified *bhākhati* with Skt. *bhāṅkshyati*.

⁵ Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōsha's *Samantapāsādikā*, in which Aśōka is stated to have given white robes (*setakāni vatthāni*) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's *Life or Legend of Gaudama* (4th ed., 2. 139) agrees, and cf. *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 53, and *Mahāvamsa*, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

⁶ *āvāsaiye* is a gerundive formed from the causative *āvāsaya*, and corresponds to Skt. *āvāśya*. Senart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

⁷ i.e. a residence unfit for members of the *Samgha*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghōsha's explanation of the term *anāvāsa*; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.

⁸ [aṃ] Bühler.

⁹ bhe[da] Boyer. Restore perhaps *bhetave*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 3.

¹⁰ The syllable *ghe* is almost certain; restore *saṃghe*.

¹¹ Restore *samage*, as in l. 8.

¹² [vā] Bühler.

¹³ [vā] Bühler, *cha* Boyer.

SAMCHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SCALE ONE-THIRD

- 4 [po*]tike chaṁ[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke¹ (D) ye saṁghaṁ
 5 bh[ā]khati² bhikhu³ vā bhikhuni vā odātā-
 6 ni dus[ān]i sanāṁ[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kiṁ-
 8 ti saṁghe samage⁴ chila-thitike siyā ti

TRANSLATION

(A)

(B) [cannot] be divided.⁵

(C) The *Samgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).⁶

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.⁷

(E) For my desire is that the *Samgha* may be united⁸ (and) of long duration.

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवा
 2 ए ल
 3 पाट ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चूं खो
 4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भासति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया
 आनावाससि
 5 आवासयिये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विन-
 पयितविये
 6 (F) हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (G) हेदिता च इका लिपी तुष्कांतिकं हुवाति
 संसलनसि निखिता
 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाय (H) ते पि च उपासका
 अनुपोसथं यावु
 8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये

¹ See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.

² *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

³ *bhikhū* Boyer.

⁴ *saṁghasa mage* Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.

⁵ Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.

⁶ Cf. *putā-papotike chaṁdama-suliyike hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākṛit affix *-ika* are *vadhanike* and *vejayike* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Koṇḍamudi plates. See EI, I. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.

⁷ With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.

⁸ Cf. *samaggo hi saṁgho phāsu viharati* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *sukhā saṁghassa sāmaggī samaggānaṁ tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, verse 194; *saṁgho samaggo hutvāna taddkāsi uposathaṁ* in the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 274.

- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुफाकं
आहाले
- 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा
- 1 (A) Devā¹
- 2 e l
- 3 Pāṭa² ye³ kenapi saṅghe bhetave (D) e chum kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṅghaṁ bh[ākha]t[i]⁴ s[e] odātāni duṣ[ān]i
[sa]mnamdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi⁵
- 5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṁ iyaṁ sāsane bhikhu-saṅghasi cha bhikhuni-saṅghasi cha
viṁnapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevaṁ Devānāmpiye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipī tuphākamtikaṁ huvāti
saṁsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikāṁ cha lipiṁ hedisameva upāsakānāmtikaṁ nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā
anuposathaṁ yāvu
- 8 etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave anuposathaṁ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte
posathāye
- 9 yāti etameva sāsanaṁ visvaṁsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tupaḥkaṁ
āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena (J) hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu⁶
etena
- 11 viyaṁjanena vivāsāpayāthā

TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvā[nāmpriya]
- (B) Pāṭa[liputra]⁷
- (C) the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.⁸
- (D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be
caused to put on⁹ white robes and to reside¹⁰ in a non-residence.¹¹

¹ These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānāmpiya*.

² These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pāṭaliputa*.

³ Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

⁴ The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikhati*, and Boyer *bhokhati*.

⁵ The Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *ānāvāsasi*.

⁶ Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *sha*.

⁷ This is the ancient name of the city of Paṭnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Girnār edict V, M. The Sāmāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pāṭaliputra, as the Kauśāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kauśāmbī.

⁸ With *saṅghe bhetave* cf. *saṅghaṁ bhindati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *bindati*; *saṅghaṁ bhinditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; *saṁagghassa saṁghassa bhedāya* in the *Pāṭimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṁ bhindimsu* in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, VII, 54.

⁹ [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *sanamdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *saṁnāhya*; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.

¹⁰ For *āvāsaiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

¹¹ See above, p. 160, n. 7.

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SCALE ONE-THIRD

(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Samgha* of monks and to the *Samgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks *Dēvānāmpriya* :

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)¹ remain² with you³ deposited⁴ in (your) office;⁵ and⁶ deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)⁷ in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict;⁸ and invariably on every fast-day,⁹ every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).¹⁰

(I) And as far as your district¹¹ (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)¹² everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).¹³

¹ Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

² Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

³ As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), *tuphākāmitikāṃ* stands for *tuphākāṃ amitikāṃ*, and *upāsakānamitikāṃ* in l. 7 for *upāsakānaṃ amitikāṃ*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Raghuvaṃśa*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshēpita* by *lēkhita*, and *nikkhitta-vanṇaṃ* in the *Śākuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhitā* is placed after *saṃsalanasi*, and *nikhipātha* in the next sentence after *upāsakānamitikāṃ*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

⁵ Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *saṃsalana* (= Skt. *saṃsarana*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

⁶ As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *hedisā cha ikā lipi* and *ikāṃ cha lipiṃ hedisameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposathaṃ* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

⁷ In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upavasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshadha* (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s. v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

⁸ With *visvaṃsayitave* cf. *asvāsa[n]iyā* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, section J.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

¹⁰ Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sārnchī and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

¹¹ Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *āhāra*, 'a district'; see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākāṃ āhāle* are contrasted with *saveṣu koṭa-vishavesu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

¹² As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *vippavasati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. The verb *vivāsayaṭi* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivāsāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *vivasati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivāsayaṭi* by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasetaviye* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauḷi, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

¹³ Literally: 'by this letter'. The word *vyāñjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.¹

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वोसतिवसाभिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्यमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथभे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे
- 5 अठभागिये च

- 1 (A) Devāna[pī]yena Piyadasina lājina visati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunī ti
- 3 (B) silā viḡaḍabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
- 4 hida Bhagavaṃ jāte ti (C) Luṃmini-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭha-bhāgiye cha

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here.²

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(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?)³ and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.⁴

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (*attha*); see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *vyañjanam*. In the rock-edict III, E, it is coupled with *hetu*, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i. e. he takes the instrumentals *etena viyañjanena* in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

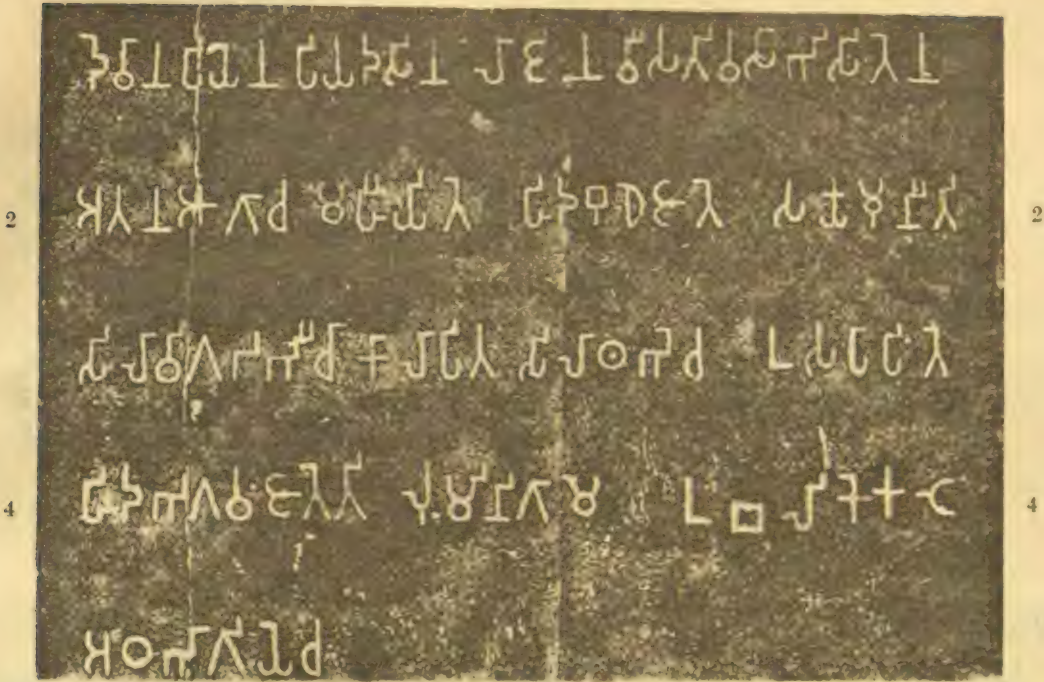
¹ This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāi) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the Shāhbāzgarhi edict XIII, M.

² In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'āgamissanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti'. In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

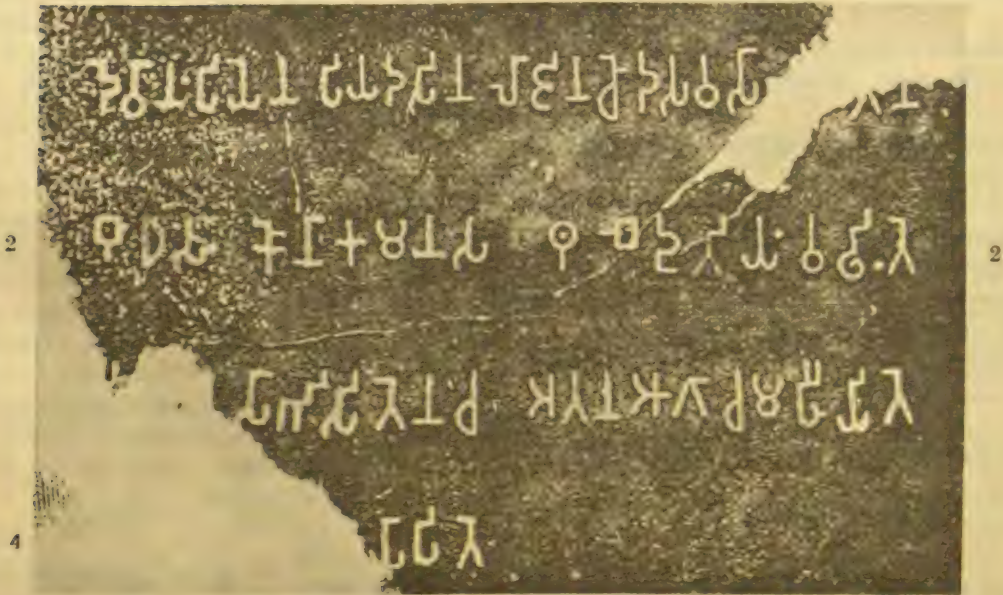
³ This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *viḡaḍabhī*; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable *-bhī* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhrit*; but, that *viḡaḍa* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 477, 823) joined *bhīchā* into one word, and explained it by Skt. **bhittikā*, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 49, 219, *viḡaḍa* is an Ardhamāgadhi form of Skt. *vikṛita*, *silā-viḡaḍa bhīchā* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of **bhittikā* to *bhīchā* 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākṛit dialects.'

⁴ With the words *hida Bhagavaṃ jāte* cf. *Divyavadāna*, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradēśe Bhagavaṃ jātaḥ.'

RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



C' (He) made the village of **Luhmini**¹ free of taxes,² and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).³

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन

2 बुधस कोनाकमनस शुवे दुत्तियं वढिते

3 (B) साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते

4 पापिते

1 (A) Devānāmpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a]

2 Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dutiyam vaḍhite

3 (B) sābhisitena⁴ cha atana āgācha mahīyite

4 pāpite⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed **fourteen years**, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the **Buddha Kōnākamana**⁶ to the double (of its original size).⁷

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

¹ In the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word *Luhmini* survives in the modern designation Rummindēi; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

² For *ubalika* = Skt. **udbalika* see Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who quotes the similar term *uchchhulka* from the *Kaṇṭīliya*.

³ The *Divyāvadāna* (p. 390) reports that Aśoka spent at Lumbini-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took *aṭha* = Skt. *artha* and translated *aṭha-bhāgiya* by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained *aṭha-bhāga* by Skt. *aṣṭa-bhāga*, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the *Kaṇṭīliya* (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) *chaturtha-pañcha-bhāgiya* is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that *-bhāgiya* must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of *Luhmini*, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix *-iya* (= Skt. *-ika*) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

⁴ Bühler restored *visati-vasābhisitena*, as on the Rummindēi pillar, l. 1.

⁵ Bühler restored *silā-thabhe cha usapāpīte* on the strength of l. 3 of the same inscription.

⁶ This mythical Buddha is called *Kōṇāgamana* by the Southern Buddhists (*Konāgamena* at Bharaut; IA, 21. 229, No. 30), and *Kanakamuni* or *Kōnākamuni* by the Northern ones; see Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 64.

⁷ With *dutiyam vaḍhite* cf. *diyaḍhiyam vaḍhisati* (or *vaḍhisiti*) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered *dutiyam* by 'for the second time'.

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं
सघ उपेते
- 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता
पापोतवे खुदकेन
- 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय
पकरा व
- 4 किंति चिरठितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति
अपलधियेना दियदिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत
(K) हध च अथि
- 5 सालाठभे सिलाठभसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) व्युटेना सावने कटे (N) २००
५० ६ स-
- 6 त विवासा त

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kēkāni¹ aḍhati[y]āni va² ya sumi
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]³ (C) no chu bādhi pakate (D) sātīleke chu chhavachhare⁴
ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te
- 2 bādhi ch[a]⁵ pakate (E) yā⁶ [i]māya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni
m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasi⁷ hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatātā p[ā]potave
khudakena⁸

¹ sāti[le]kāni Senart and Bühler ; read sātīrēkāni.

² This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāt, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

³ The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā* ; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *hakā*, i. e. *hakam*) [*sava*]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads Bu[dha]-Śake.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare* ; see IA, 37. 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

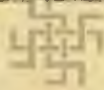
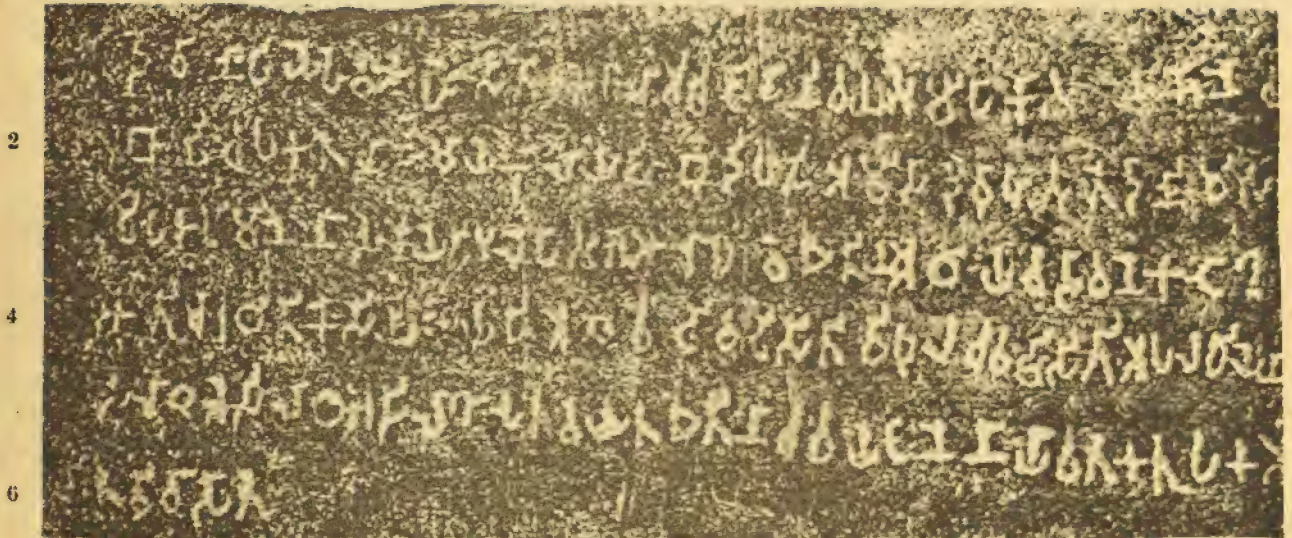
⁵ *chu* Bühler.

⁶ *y[i]* Bühler.

⁷ Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

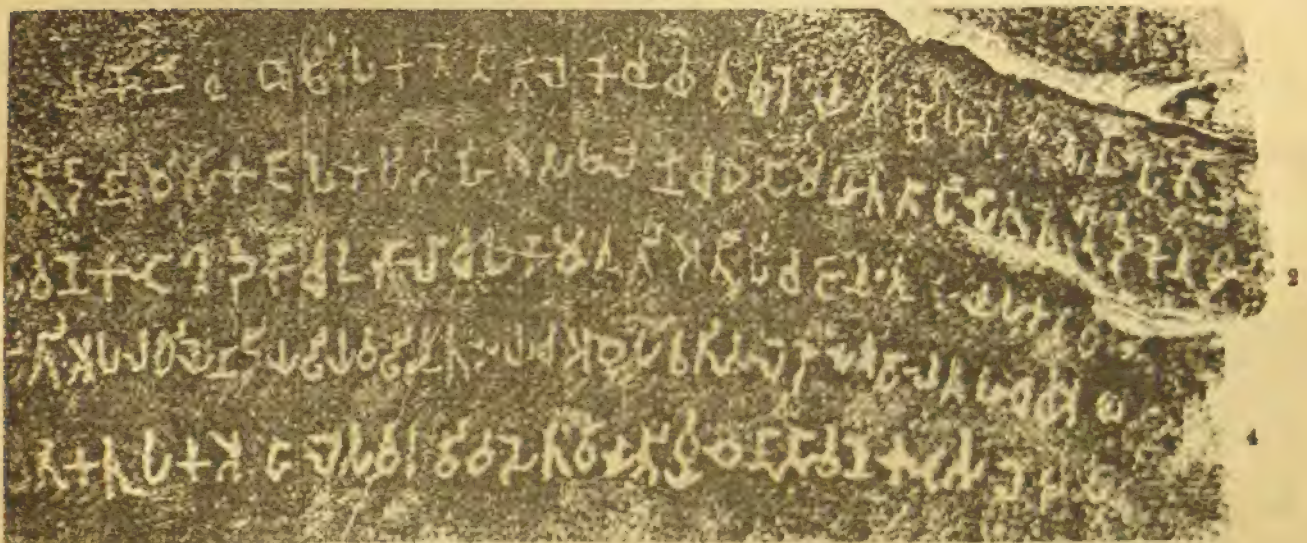
⁸ Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

LEFT HALF



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RIGHT HALF



- 3 pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā¹ sakiye pipule² pā³ svage ārodheve⁴ (H) etiya aṭhāya cha
sāvane kaṭe kh[u]dakā cha uḍālā cha pakamatu⁵ ti atā pi cha jānamtu iya⁶
paka[rā⁷ va]
- 4 kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā (I) iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā
diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata⁸ (J) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha⁹
cha athi
- 5 sālā-ṭh[abh]e¹⁰ silā-ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya¹¹ ta¹² (L) etinā cha vayajanenā
yāvataka tupaka¹³ ahāle savara¹⁴ vivasetavā[ya]¹⁵ ti (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane
kaṭe (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā ta¹⁶

TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.

(B) Two and a half years¹⁷ and somewhat more (have passed) since I am
openly a Śākya.¹⁸

(C) But (I had)¹⁹ not been very zealous.²⁰

(D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited²¹ the
Saṃgha²² and have been very zealous.

¹ *parumaminena* Bühler.

² Read *vipule*.

³ Read *pi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁴ *ārodhave* Bühler; read *ārādhe[ta*]ve*.

⁵ *pakamanitu* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *iyam* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ Senart proposes to read *pakame*; cf. the Śiddāpura and Sahasrām rock-inscriptions.

⁸ Read *vaḍhisiti*.

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⁹ Bühler and Senart correct *hidha*. Instead of it, the context seems to require *yata* (= Skt. *yatra*); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.

¹⁰ Read *silā*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; -*ṭhubhe* Bühler.

¹¹ Read *likhā*.

¹² Read *ti*.

¹³ Read perhaps *tuphākam*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 9.

¹⁴ Read *savata*, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 10.

¹⁵ °*viya* Senart, °*vā[ya]* Bühler; read *vivāsetaviye* and cf. *vivāsayātha* at Sārnāth, l. 10.

¹⁶ Read *ti*.

¹⁷ As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35. 474, note), *aḍḍhiya* is the Pāli *aḍḍhiya*, 'two and a half'.

¹⁸ Instead of this, the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura versions read *upāsake*, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Maski version reads *Bu[dha]-Śake*. On the Rummindēi pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet *Śākyamuni*. Varāhamihira uses the tribal name *Śākya* in the sense of 'a Buddhist'; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. In the *Kaṇṭhīya* the word *Śākya* has the same meaning; see Shama Sastri's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the Munich MS. reads *शकाजीवकादीन्*, which is meant for *शकाजीवकादीन्*; the *editio princeps* (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has *शकाः । जीवकादीन्*.

¹⁹ The word *husam* is inserted in the Mysore versions.

²⁰ The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15. 515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17. 121 f.) take *pakamati* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasrām and Bairāt edicts suggest that *pakamati* has to be understood as a synonym of *palakamati*, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous'; see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā* (Rūpnāth) or *palakamaminenā* (Sahasrām) corresponds to *dhama-yute[na]*, 'devoted to morality', at Maski, E.

²¹ Bühler translated *up[te]* by 'entered'; see IA, 6. 156, and EI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

²² i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)¹ in Jambudvīpa,² have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).³

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank⁴ (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.⁵

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,⁶ (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers⁷ may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter⁸ will (be made by me to) progress,⁹ and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.¹⁰

¹ Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f.) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*; but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānampriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *mṛishā*, which is represented by *musā* in Pāli, in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misam-deva* and *ammisam-deva* at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhī form *musam*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *misibhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *i* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devehi*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'ont été (réduits à apparaître comme) faussement (*mis au nombre*) des dieux', and to consider the instrumental *devehi* an ablative partitive (?).

² i. e. in India.

³ As I have shown in JRAS, 1913. 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Gīmār edict IV, B.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *mahatātā* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

⁵ Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

⁶ Fleet (JRAS, 1909. 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya aṭṭhāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

⁷ According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

⁸ i. e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

⁹ With *vaḍhi*[*m**] *vaḍhisiti* cf. *dhamma-vaḍhi vadhitā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter¹ to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.²

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,³ it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.⁴

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)⁶ (you) must dispatch (an officer)⁶ everywhere, as far as your district⁷ (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.⁸

(N) 256 (nights)⁹ (had then been) spent on tour.¹⁰

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांपिये हेवं आ ियानि सवइलानि । अं उपासके
सुमि । (C) न चु बाढं पलकंते
2 (D) सवइले साधिके । अं ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि ।
अमिसंदेवा । संत

¹ Instead of the nominative *iya cha athe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha aṭham*, as at Sahasrām, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekhāpetariye ti* for *lekhāpeta vālata*; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

² Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (*vārataḥ*); see JRAS, 1911. 1116.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, SS.

⁵ See above, p. 163, n. 13.

⁶ See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911. 1106) translated *vivaseti* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vyūtha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental *vy[u]thenā*, which depends on *sāvane kaṭe*, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, l. 5); see JRAS, 1909. 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37. 22) in supplying *mayā*.

⁹ The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911. 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 1301 ff., 1911. 1091 ff., and 1913. 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Digha-nikāya*, 2. 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916. 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *raṭi*, as at Kālsī, VIII, F.

¹⁰ In JRAS, 1910. 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vivūthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

- 3 मुनिसा मिसंदेव कटा । (F) पल इयं फले (G) नो यं
महतता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअग .. किये आला वे । (H) से एताये
अठाये इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अंता पि च जानंतु । चिलठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे
वढिसति । विपुलं पि च वढिसति
- 6 दियाढियं अवलधियेना दियढियं वढिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ..
वा अ-
- 8 थि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye he[vaṃ] [[ā]]¹ [[iyāni savachhalā]][[ni | a]]m
upāsake sumi । (C) na chu bādham [palaka]m[t]e
- 2 (D) sav[a]chhale² sādhi[ke] [[i am]] [[te]] (E) [ete]][[na cha amta]]lena ।
Jambudipasi । ammisam-[de]vā³ । samta⁴
- 3 munisā [n]isam-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] [[iyam phale (G) [n]o]]
[[yam]] mahatata va chakiye pāv[a]t[ve] । khudakena pi pala-
- 4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag ... [k]iye⁵ [ā][lā] [[ve]] [i] (H) se etāye
aṭh[ā]ye iyam sāvāne⁶ । khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-
- 5 [la]kamaṃtu amta pi ch[a] jānaṃtu । chila-ṭhiṭ[īke]⁷ cha p[a][ā]kame⁸ hotu । (I)
iya[m] cha [aṭhe] vaḍhisati । vipulaṃ pi cha vaḍhisati
- 6 diyāḍhiyam aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]ḍhiyam vaḍhisati । (J) iyam [[cha savane]]
[v]ivuthena (K) dūve sapannā lāti-
- 7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭham pavatesu [I][[ikhā]][[pa]yāthā (M)
ya . .⁹ [vā] a-
- 8 th[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata pi¹⁰ [likhāpayatha t]i

¹ The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

² The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *vin* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *dva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 147), it is already impossible because the *da* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *saḍvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

³ Read *amisan-*.

⁴ *saṃ[tā]* Bühler.

⁵ Restore *snage chakiye*.

⁶ Read *sāvane*.

⁷ *-[th]itik*. Bühler.

⁸ *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Restore *yata*.

¹⁰ The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.

TRANSLATION

- (A) *Dēvānāmpriya* [speaks] thus.
 (B) years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).
 (C) But (I had) not been very zealous.
 (D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since
 (E) And men in *Jambudvīpa*, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.
 (F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].
 (G) cannot¹ be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.
 (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.
 (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.
 (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.
 (K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,²—(in figures) 256.³
 (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.
 (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांपिये आहा (B) साति
 2 वसानि य हकं उपासके (C) नो चु वाढं
 3 अं ममया सधे उपयाते वाढ च
 4 जंबुदिपसि अमिसा न देवेहि मि कमस एस . . ले
 5 (G) नो हि एसे महतनेव चकिये कममिनेना
 6 विपुले पि श्वगे चक्ये आलाधेतवे (H) का च उडाला चा
 पलकमतु ति

¹ For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

² Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word *vinuthā* (corresponding to *vivāsā* at Rūpnāth) with *vyushṭam*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kaṭṭhīya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νοχθήμερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both *vinutha* and *vivāsa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

³ The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pannā* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *dvē śatpañchāśe rātri-śatē* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekam rattim vipavasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.

7 अन्ता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित लं पि वढिसति

8 दियढियं वढिसति

1 (A) Devānāmpīye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti

2 vasān[i] ya hakaṃ¹ upāsake (C) [no chu] bādham

3 aṃ mamayā saghe² [u]payāte [bā]dha cha

4 Jambudīpasi³ amisā⁴ na devehi [m]i [ka]masa esa .. l[e]

5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye kamaminenā

6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H) kā cha [u]d[ā]lā chā⁵
[pala]kamatu [t]i

7 [aṃ]tā pi cha jānamtu ti [ch]īla-ṭhit laṃ pi vadhisati

8 diyaḍhiyaṃ vadhi[s]ati

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावाधतं च फासु-
विहालतं चा

2 (B) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धम्मसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च
(C) ए केचि भंते

3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
हेवं सधंमे

4 चिलठितिके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-
पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से

5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिते ए चा
लाघुलो-

6 वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि
इहामि

7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा

8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि
अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतू ति

1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]⁶ l[ā]jā Māgadhe⁷ saṃghaṃ abhivāde[tū]naṃ⁸ āhā ap[ā]bādhatam
cha phāsu-vihālatam chā

2 (B) vidite v[e] bhaṃte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṃghasī ti gālave⁹
chaṃ prasāde¹⁰ cha (C) e kechi¹¹ bhaṃte

¹ haka Bühler.

² sa[m]ghe Bühler.

³ °dīpasi Bühler.

⁴ The syllable *mi* was entered above the line.

⁵ cha Bühler.

⁶ Piya° Senart.

⁷ Māgadham Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.

⁸ abhivādanam Senart; but see JRAS, 1909. 727.

⁹ galave Senart.

¹⁰ pasāde Senart.

¹¹ keṃchi Senart.

- 3 bhagavatā **Budhe[na]** bhāsīte sarve¹ se subhāsīte vā (D) e chu kho bhamīte
hamiyāye diseyā hevaṃ sadhamme
- 4 chil[a-ṭhi]ṭike hosatī ti alahāmi hakam ta[m] v[ā]tave² (E) imāni bhamīte dha[m]ma-
paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase
- 5 Aliya-vasāni³ Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatīsa-pasine e chā
Lāghulo-
- 6 vāde musā-vādam adhigichya⁴ bhagavatā **Budhena** bhāsīte etāni⁵ bhamīte
dhamma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi
- 7 kintī bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye⁶ ch[ā] abhikhinam sun[e]yu⁷ chā
upadhāl[a]jyeyū⁸ chā
- 8 (F) hevaṃmevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni⁹ bhamīte imam likhā[pa]jyāmi
abhipretam¹⁰ me jānamtū¹¹ ti

TRANSLATION

(A) The Māgadha king Priyadarśin,¹² having saluted the Saṅgha,¹³ hopes they are both well and comfortable.¹⁴

(B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma,¹⁵ (and) the Saṅgha.¹⁶

(C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.

(D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me¹⁷ (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): 'thus the true Dharma will be of long duration',¹⁸ that I feel bound to declare.

(E) The following expositions of the Dharma, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the Vinaya-samukasa, (2) the Aliya-vasas,¹⁹ (3) the Anāgata-bhayas, (4) the Muni-gāthās, (5) the Moneya-sūta,

¹ save Senart.

² vatave Senart.

³ -vasāni Senart.

⁴ This word is quite distinct, and the reading *adhigichya* proposed by Michelson (IF, 27. 194 f.) is impossible.

⁵ etāna Senart.

⁶ bhikhuniye Senart.

⁷ sunayu Senart.

⁸ upādhāleyeyu Senart.

⁹ Read *etenā*.

¹⁰ *abhihetam* Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to *pa* is probably intended for *r*. Cf. *aparakaramhi* in the Gīrṇār edict XII, l. 3.

¹¹ *ma jānamta* Senart.

¹² Cf. e.g. *rājā Māgadho Senīyo Bimbisāro* in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (passim); *rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu* at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (JRAS, 1875. 49); and *rājā Pasenajī Kosalo* in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21. 232, No. 58).

¹³ i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

¹⁴ Literally: 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: '*appābādham appātāṅkam lahuṭṭhānam balam phāsu-vihāram pucchha*', and see Neumann's translations of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (2. 617, note) and *Dīgha-nikāya* (2. 216, n. 3).

¹⁵ i. e. the Buddhist doctrine.

¹⁶ These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *ratanam*.

¹⁷ Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained *diseyā* as the optative of the Pāli *dissati* = Skt. *drīśyatē*; cf. JRAS, 1909. 728.

¹⁸ As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901. 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

¹⁹ *vasa* is a defective spelling for *vaṃsa*; see IA, 41. 39.

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,¹—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस अढति-
- 2 .. नि वषानि । अं सुमि बुधशके (C) तिरे
- 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
- 4 सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
- 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दखितविये उडा-
- 6 लके व इम अधिगछेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
- 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ तिके च वढि-
- 8 सिति चा दियदियं हेवं ति

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa² [a]dh[a]t[i]-
- 2 .. ni³ vashā[ni] । am⁴ sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake⁵ (C) [t]ire
- 3 .. [m]i⁶ [s]aṃgha[m] u[pa]gate [uṭh] m[i] u[pa]gate⁷ (D) pure Jambu-
- 4 s[i]⁸ ye amisā devā husu te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā (E) iya a[ṭhe khu]da-

¹ For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

² Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adhiḥkāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adhiḥkāni*.

³ Restore *aḍhatiyāni*.

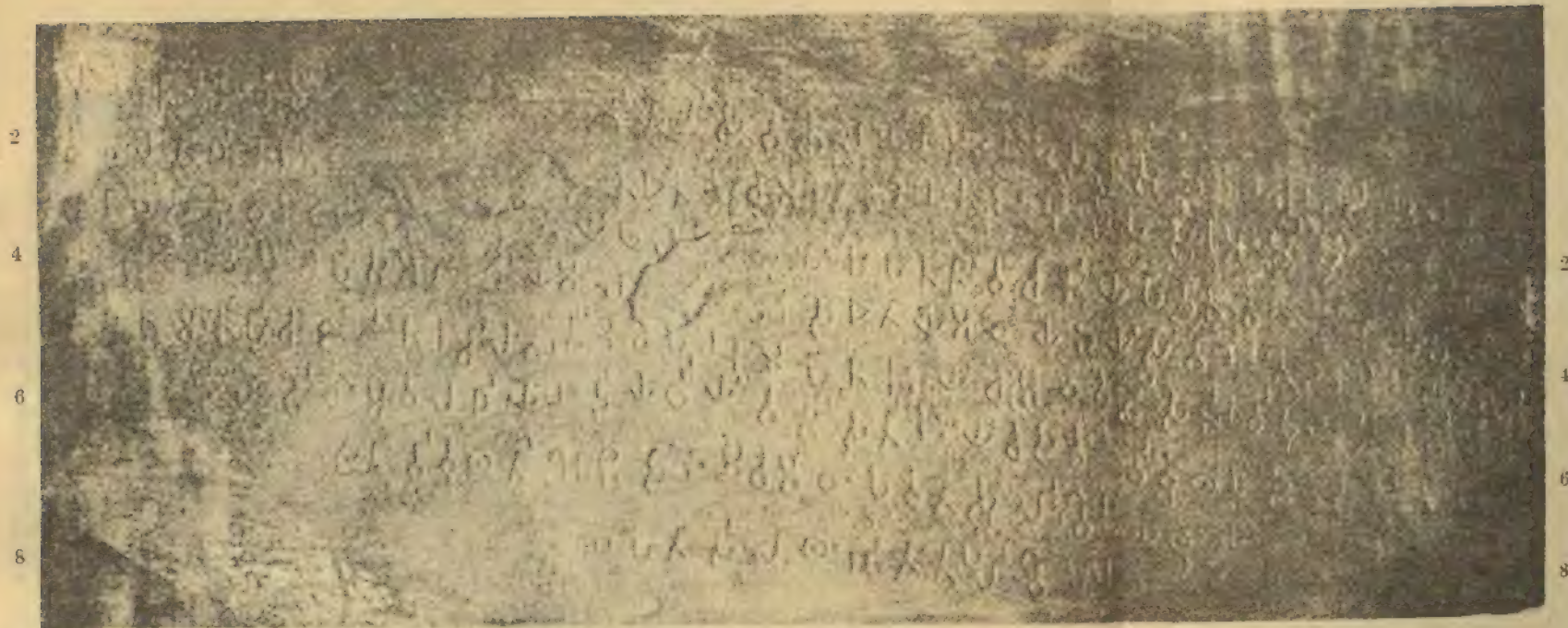
⁴ *vasāni* [ya]m am Krishna Sastri.

⁵ *bun[pā]śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[e] at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

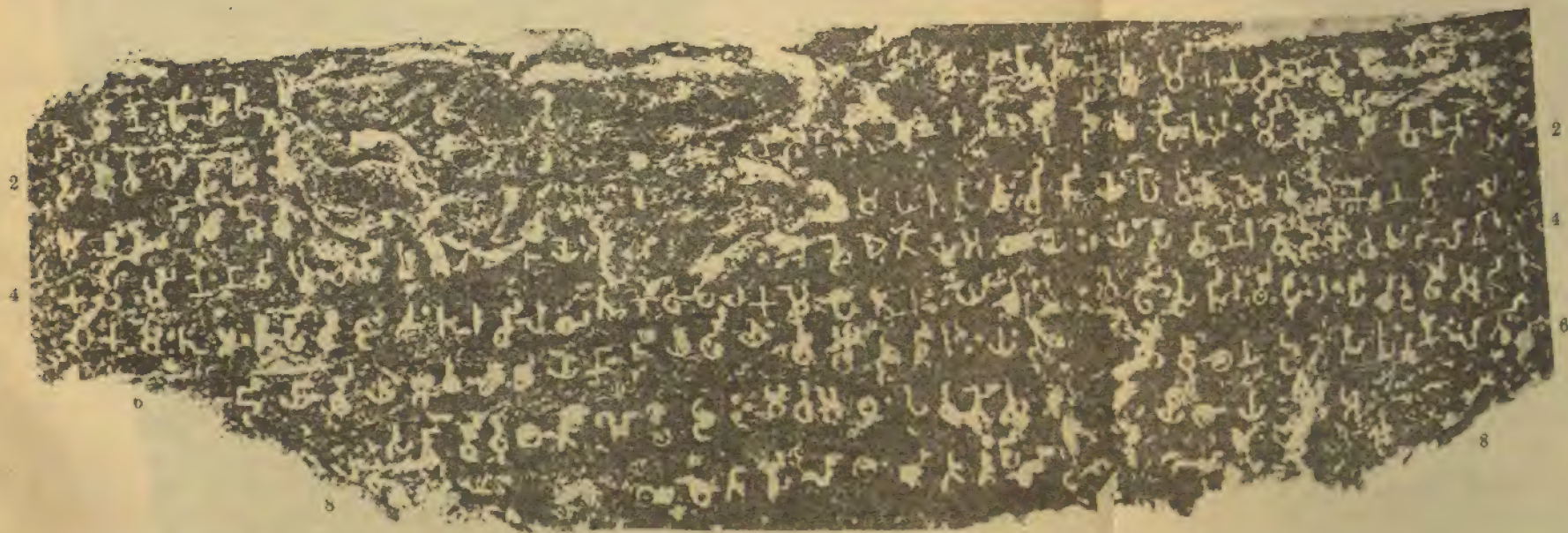
⁶ Restore *sātireke am sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *saṃvachhare*.

⁷ Restore perhaps *uṭhānam cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bādhām cha me pakānte*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bādhām cha sumi upagate*.

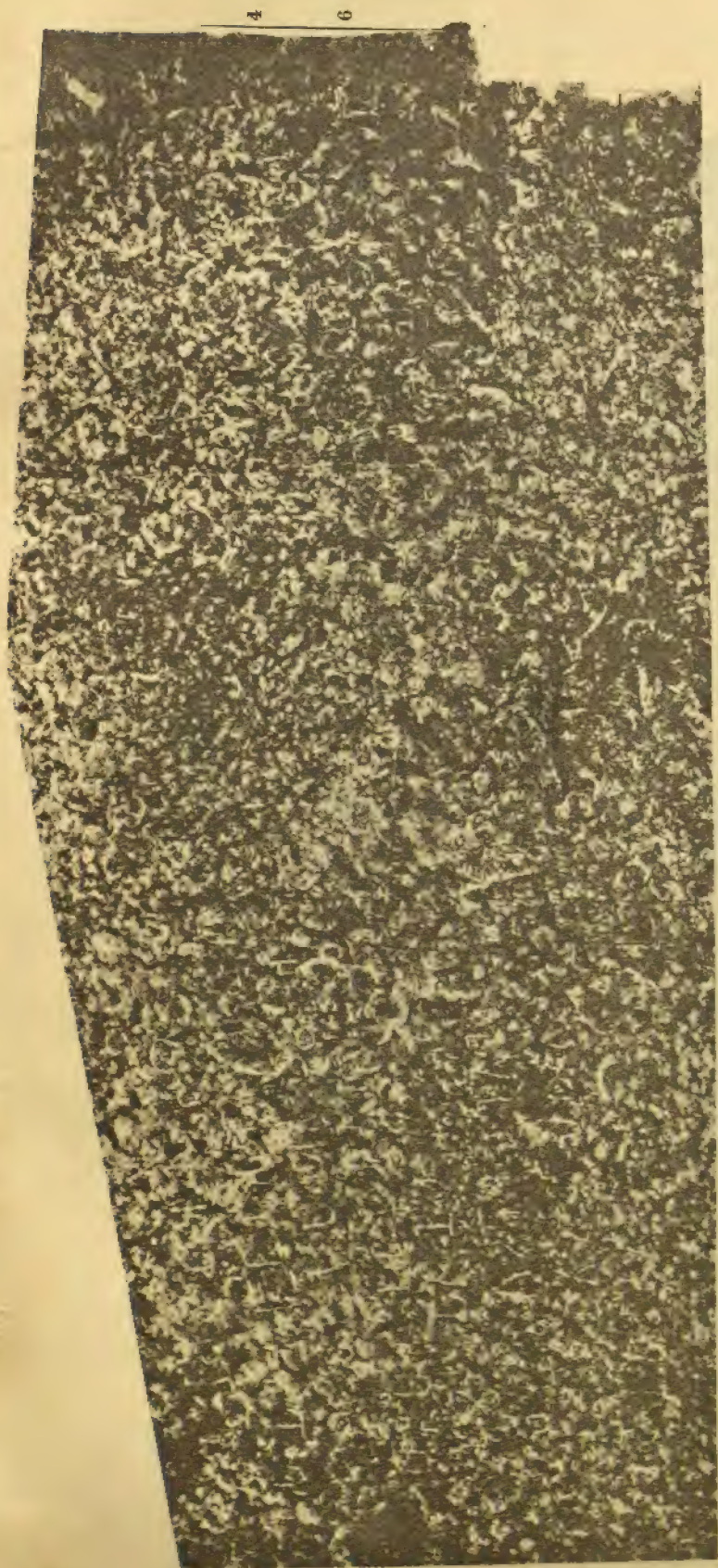
⁸ Restore *Jambudīpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.



FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH



FROM AN INKED ESTAMPAGE



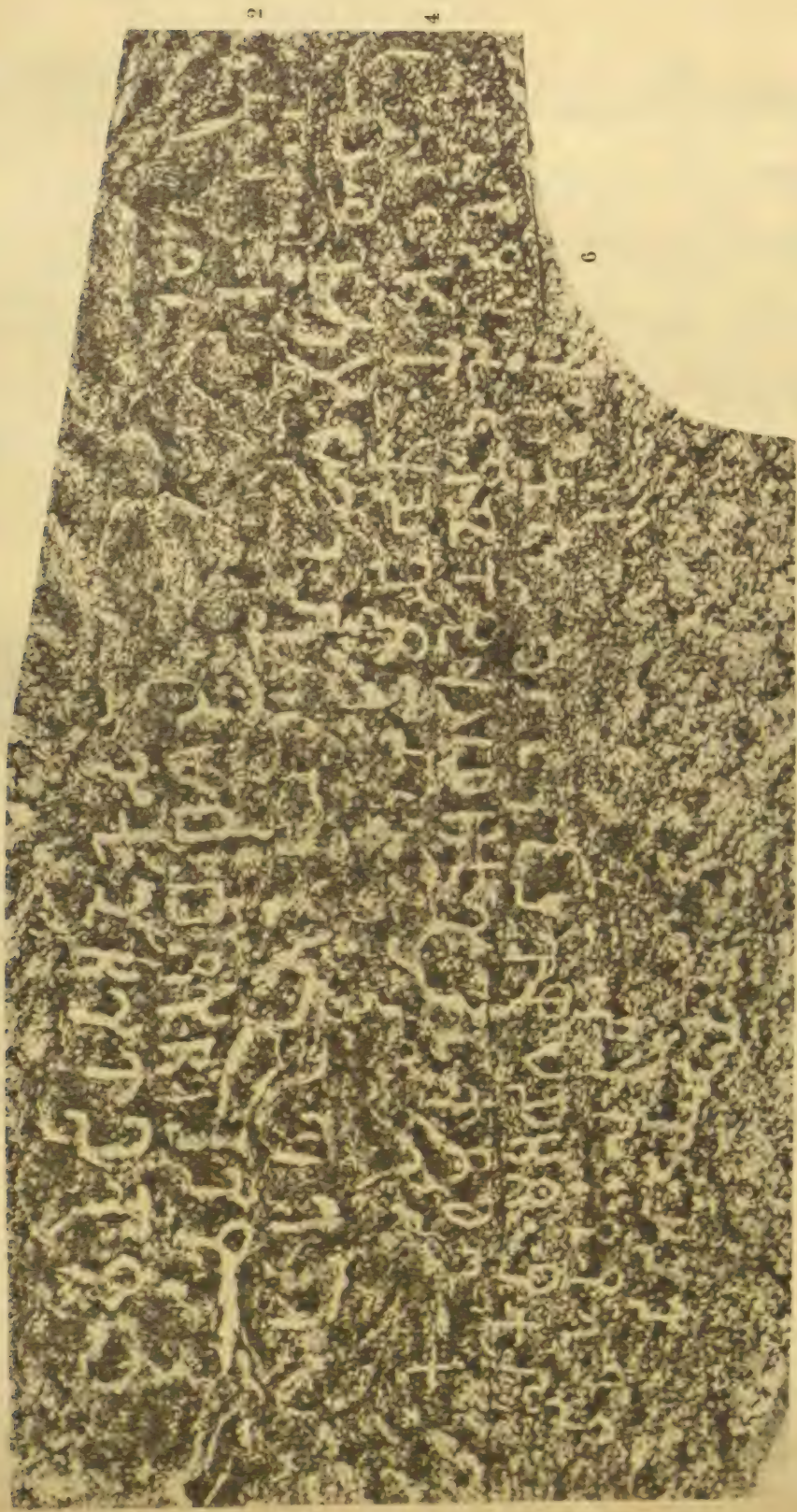
SCALE ONE-NINTH

2 4 6 8

2 4 6 8

2 4 6 8

SCALE ONE-FOURTH



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH

- 5 ke[na pi]¹ dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevañ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-
 7 viyā hevañ ve kalamāñ bha[dak]e [se a]² t[i]k[e]³ cha va[ḍhi]-
 8 siti chā diya[ḍhi]yañ he[vañ] ti⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Sākya*.⁵

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Samgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.⁶

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीते अयपुतस महामाताणं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं
 वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये आणपयति
 2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं सके (D) नो तु खो बाढं
 प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवछरं (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवछरं
 3 यं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना
 मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सक्के महात्पेनेव पापोतवे
 कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि
 5 पकमि णेण विपुले स्वगे सक्के आराधेतवे (I) एतायठाय इयं सावणे
 सावापिते
 6 महात्मा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मै जानेयु चिरठितीके
 च इयं

¹ h[ī] K. S.

² [the ti] K. S.

³ Restore perhaps *se aṭṭhe chira-ṭṭhike*.

⁴ *diyadhiya h[e]sati* K. S.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

⁶ Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharmā-yukta*; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

⁷ For the nominative singular absolute *kalamāñ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *ve* (= Skt. *vah*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

- 7 पक् (J) इयं च अठे वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अवरधिया
दियदियं
8 वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं
देवाणंपिये
9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसूसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेषु द्रह्यितव्यं सचं
10 वतवियं से इमे धंमगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अंतेवासिना
11 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च कं य . . रहं पवतितविये
12 (P) एसा पोरणा पकिती दीघावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये
13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]ṁnagiritē¹ ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṁ cha vachan[e]na Isilasi
mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ cha vataviyā (B) Devāṇaṁpiye
ānapayati
2 (C) adhikāni adhātiyāni v[a]sāni ya hakaṁ . . . sa[ke]² (D) no tu kho
bāḍhaṁ prakamte³ husaṁ ekaṁ savachharaṁ (E) sātireke tu kho
saṁvachhareṁ⁴
3 yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ cha me pakamte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi
4 mi[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (H) no hiyaṁ sakyē mahātpeneva
pāpotave kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi
5 paka[m]i . . ṇeṇa⁵ vipule svage sakyē ārādhētave (I) e[t]āyathāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe
sāvāpīte
6⁶ mahāt[p]ā cha imaṁ pakame[ya t]i aṁtā cha mai⁷ jāneyu chira-
ṭhitike cha iyaṁ
7 [paka].....⁸ (J) iyaṁ cha aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā
diyadhiyaṁ
8 [vaḍh]isiti (K) iyaṁ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthēna (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṁ
Devāṇaṁpiye
9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susū[s]iṭaviye hemeva garu[su]⁹ prāṇesu drahyitavyaṁ
sachāṁ
10 vataviyaṁ se ime dhamma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva aṁtevāsina
11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]m¹⁰ ya . . rahaṁ¹¹ pavatitaviye

¹ This word looks almost like *Suvenṇa*^o, but the Śiddāpura version reads *Suvanṇa*^o distinctly.

² Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddāpura.

³ *pakamte* Bühler.

⁴ Read *saṁvachhare*; *sa[m]vachhar[a]m* Bühler.

⁵ *paka[mami]ṇeṇa* Bühler; read *pakamamīṇeṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.

⁶ The Śiddāpura version reads *yathā khu[dakā cha]*.

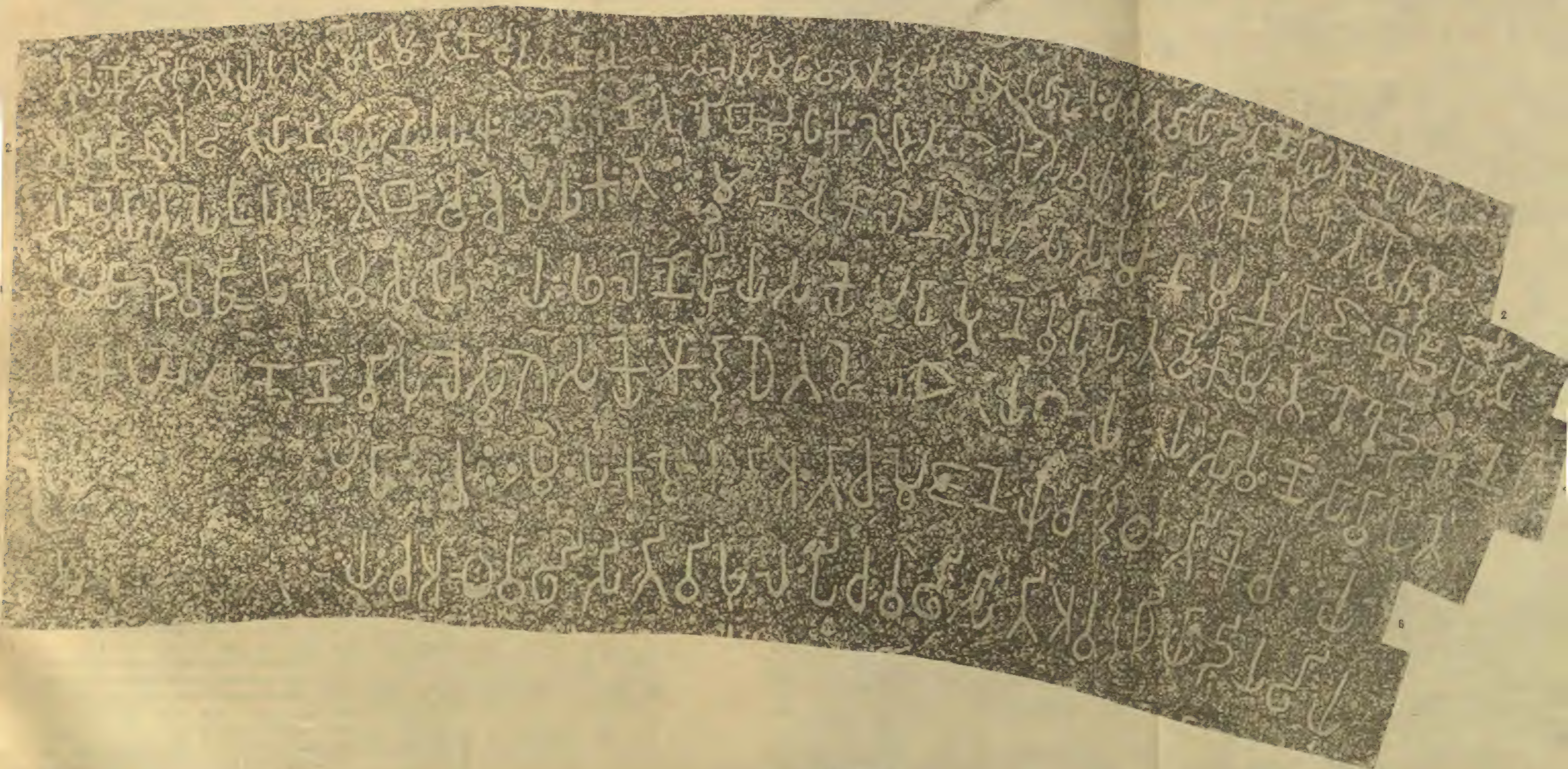
⁷ Read *me*.

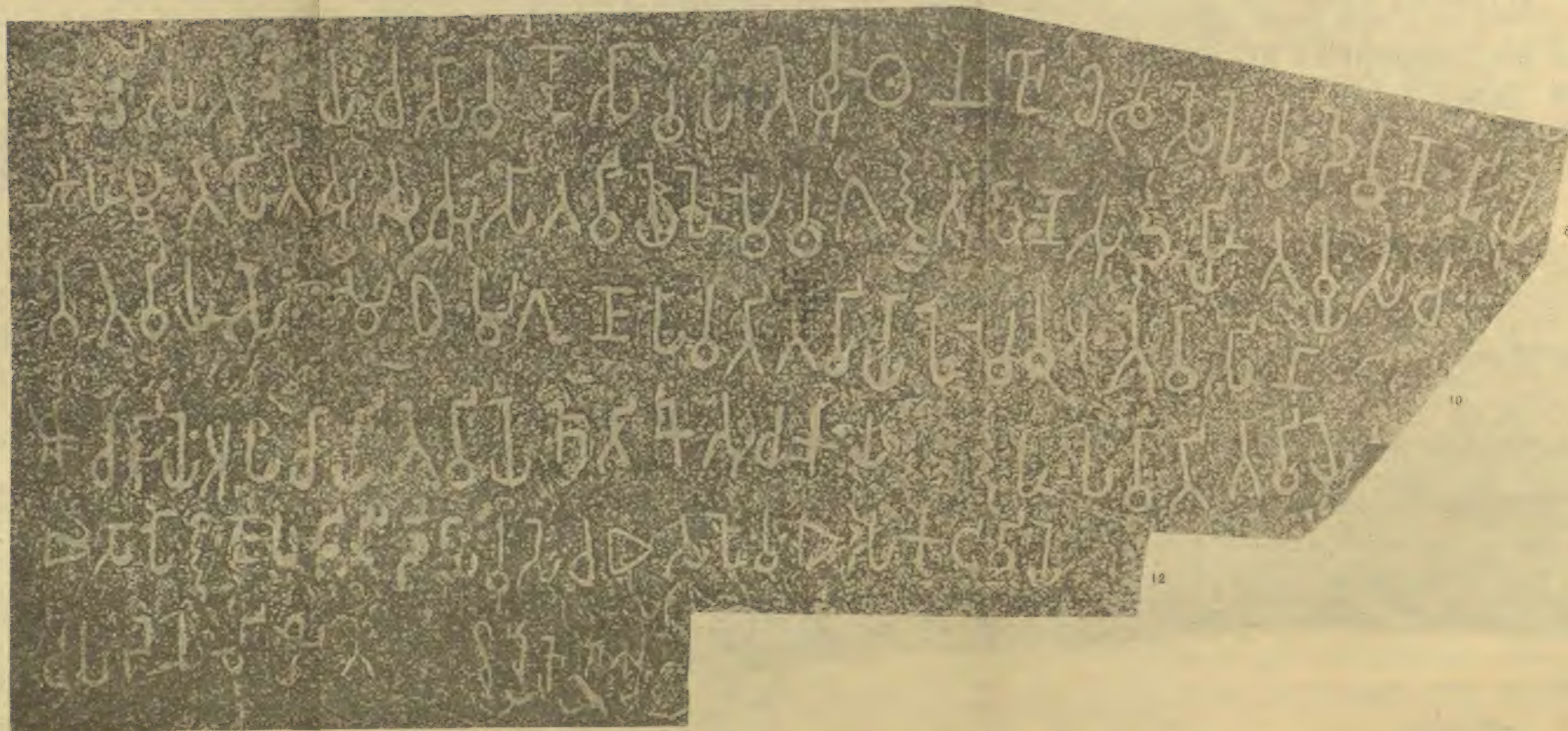
⁸ The Śiddāpura version reads *pakame hoti* (*hotu* at Sahasrām).

⁹ *garut[vaṁ]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *k[u?]* Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

¹¹ Restore *yathārahaṁ* and cf. the Śiddāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara version, l. 18.





- 12 (P) eṣā porā[ṇ]ā pa[k]iti d[īgh]āvuse¹ cha eṣa (Q) hevaṃ eṣa kaṭṭiye²
 13 (R) Chapaḍena likhite³ li[pi]kareṇa⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri,⁵ at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)⁶ and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at Isila must be wished good health⁷ and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāmpriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am)⁸ a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.⁹

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Samgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.¹⁰

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,¹¹ [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,¹² and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

¹ d[īgh]āvuse Bühler.

² Read *kaṭṭiye*.

³ li[kh]it[am] Bühler.

⁴ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

⁵ This place seems to have been the capital of the province administrated by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātras*. Bühler (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a *Kumāra* and his *Mahāmātras* resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśoka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagriha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909. 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

⁶ Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f.) traced the word *ayyaputta*, 'a prince', in the *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

⁷ Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁸ The word *sumi* is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

⁹ The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddāpura edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Samgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

¹⁰ For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

¹² With *imaṃ* supply *pakamaṃ*; cf. *vaḍḍhi*[m*] *vaḍḍhisiti* in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).¹

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.²

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.³

(R) Written by *Chapaḍa* the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवङ्गगिरीते अयपुतस महामाता-
- 2 णं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य हकं उपासके (D) नो तु खो वाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सवछ . .
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवछरे यं मया संघे उपयीते वाढं
- 7 च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मु
- 8 जंबुद मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प न विपुले स्वगे सके आराधेतवे
- 11 (I) से य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
- 12 दका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अता च
- 13 चिरटितीके च इयं पकमे होति
- 14 (J) वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अ
- 15 यढियं वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 (L) २०० ५० ई (M) मा सितविये
- 17 हितथं शचं वत . . यं इमे धंमगु
- 18 (N) हेमेव अं आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 (O) एसा पोराणा . . किती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव . .
- 20 तेविसिने च
- 21 आचरिये थारहं पवतितव म . .
- 22 स तथा कटविये (R) चप
- 23 ण

¹ Cf. section J of the *Sahasrām* edict.

² This section is omitted in the *Siddāpura* and *Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara* versions.

³ At the beginning of this section, the *Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara* version inserts: 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāmpriya*'.

- 1 (A) **Su**vam̐nagiri^{te} ayaputasa mahāmātā-
 2 nam̐ cha vachanena I[s]ilasi mahāmātā
 3 ārogiyam̐ vata[v]i[yā] (B) [Dev]ā[na]m̐piye hevam̐
 4 āha (C) **adhikāni** a[dhā]t[i]y[āni] **vasāni**
 5 ya ha[kam̐ u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bādha pakam̐te husam̐ **ek[am̐] sa[vachha]** . . .¹
 6 (E) [sātire]**ke** tu kho sam̐vachhare [yam̐ mayā sam̐]ghe upayite bādham̐
 7 [cha me] p[akam̐]te (F) i[m]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu
 8 **Jambu[d]** [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyam̐ phale (H) no [h]i i-²
 9 ya sake [ma] [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmam̐ tu kho khudakena
 10 pi [pa] na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādheta^{ve}
 11 (I) [s]e ya [iya]m̐ sāvaṇe sāvite yathā khu-
 12 [dakā cha ma]hātpā cha imam̐ [pa]kameyu ti atā³ cha
 13 [chira]-t̥hi[t̥]ik[e]⁴ cha iyam̐ pakame hoti⁵
 14 (J) va[dh]isiti vipu[la]m̐ p[i] cha vaḍhisiti [a]
 15 [yaḍhiya]m̐ vaḍhisiti (K) i[ya]m̐ [cha] sā[va]ṇe
 16 (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [mā] [si]taviye
 17 [hyi]tavyam̐ śa[cha]m̐ va[ta] . . [ya]m̐ im[e] dham̐ma-gu
 18 (N) [heme]va [a]m̐ [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su
 19 (O) [es]ā [p]o[r]ā[nā] . . . [ki]ti dī[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va]
 . . . m̐[t]evisine⁶ cha
 20 āchariy[e] thāraham̐ pavatitav m . . .
 21 sa⁷ [ta]thā kaṭaviye (R) **Chapa**
 22 [ṇa]⁸

VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) तान च व
 2 इसि विया (B) देवान
 3 य हकं
 4 खो बाढ (E) . . तिरेके
 5 यं . . या
 6 ए
 7 हि इयं
 8
 9
 10 च दिस . .
 11 . . पुलं पि यदियं

¹ *sam̐va* Bühler.

⁴ *-thitike* Bühler.

³ . . [te]vāsine Bühler. Read *am̐levāsine*.

⁶ This syllable is in the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet.

² Bühler omitted *i-*.

⁵ *ko[u]* Bühler.

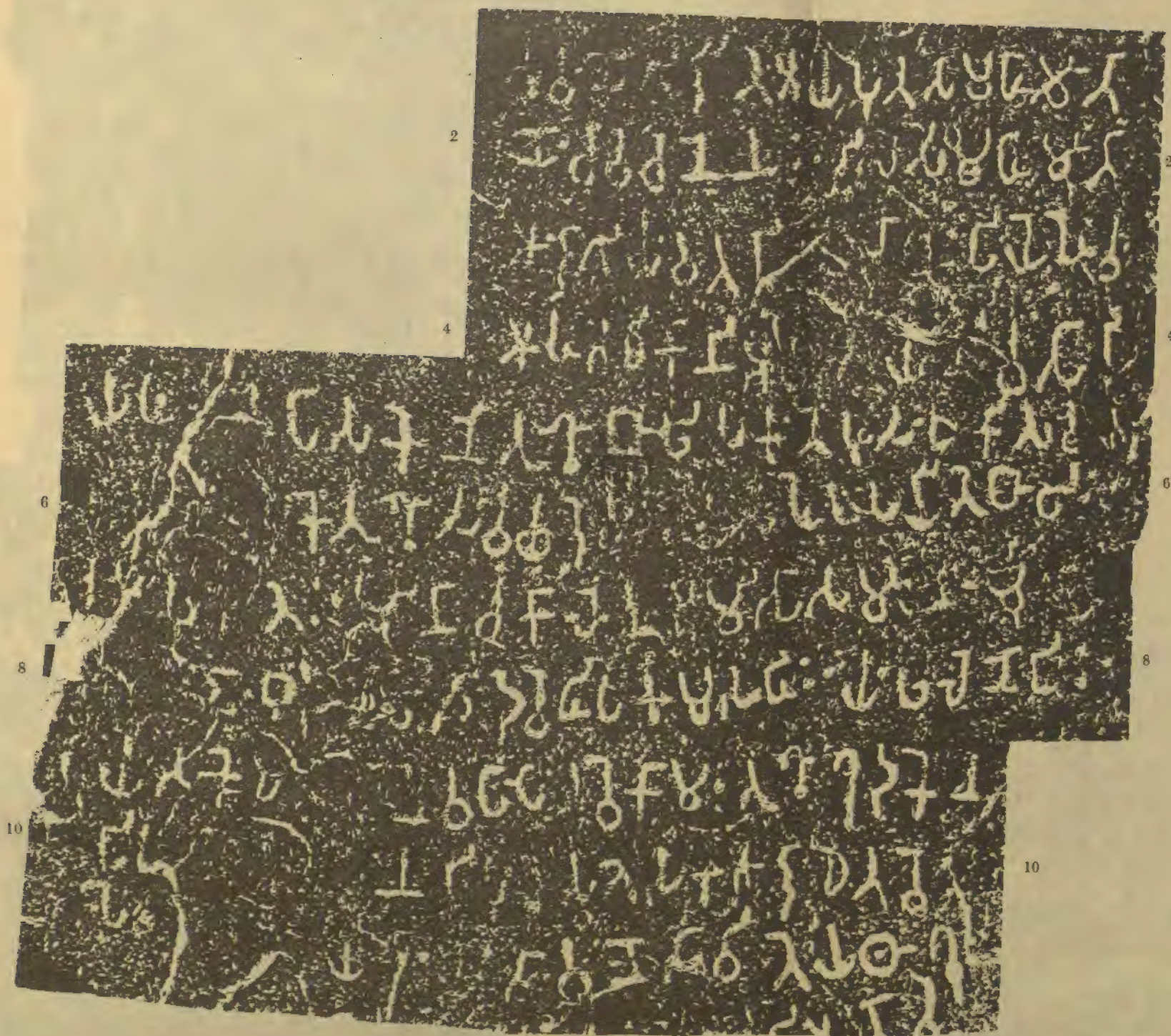
⁷ *esa* Bühler.

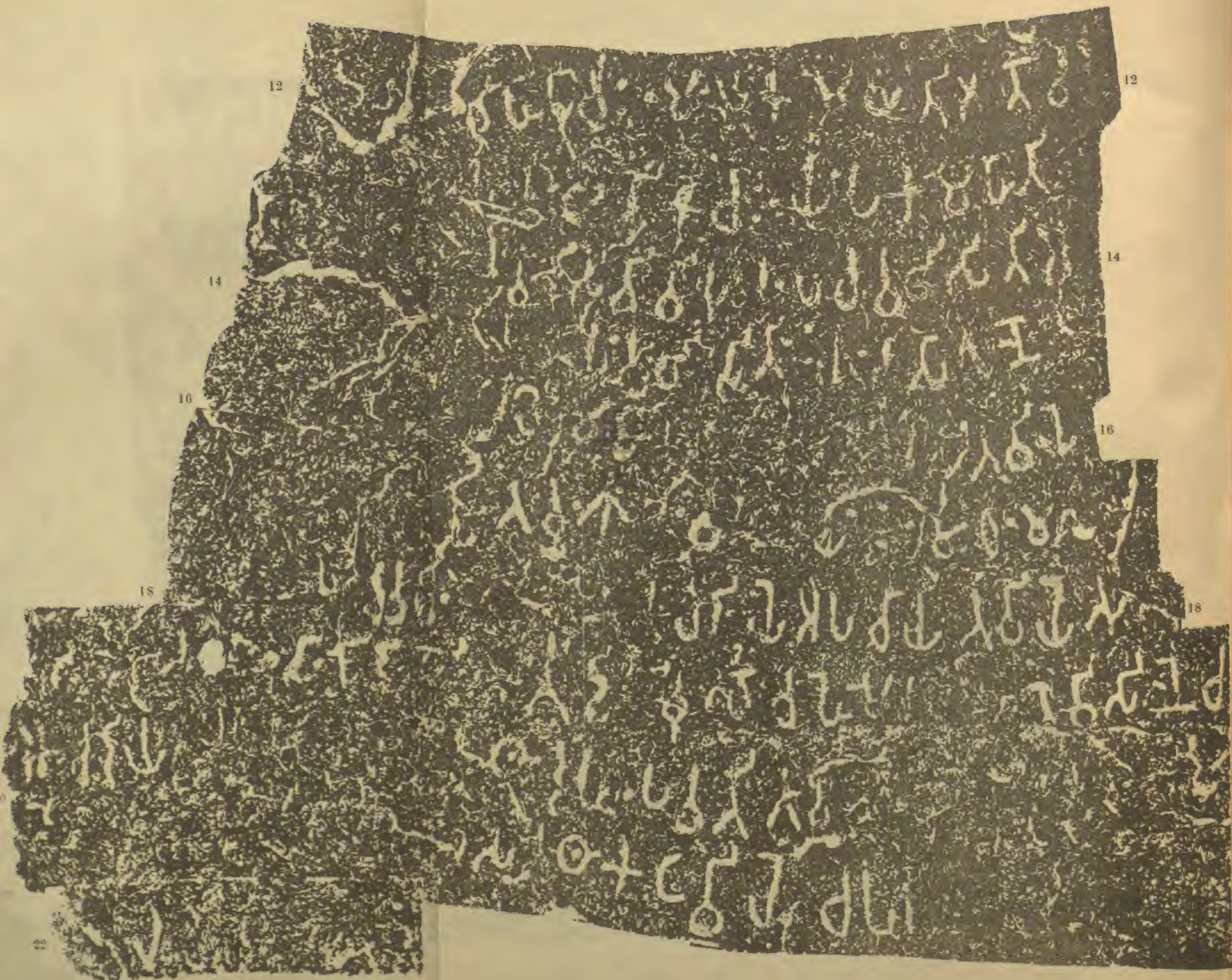
³ *am̐tā* Bühler.

- 12 (K) इ सावणे येन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हेमेव
 13 मातापितुसु सितविये हेमेव न तेसु
 14 . . ह्यितव्यं सच वतवियं से इमे
 15 हेवं पवतितविया (N) स्वञ्चं न ते सतवस
 16 तविय हेमेव आचरिये अंतेवासिना
 17 राणा पकिती सितविया विये
 18 . . चरिये अ आचरियश्चात्तिके ते . . यथारहं पव-
 19 तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघा च (P) हेमेव श
 20 च य वतितविये (Q) हेवं धंमे देवाणंपिय . .
 21 . . वं कटविये (R) डेन लिखितं
 22 . . पिकरेण

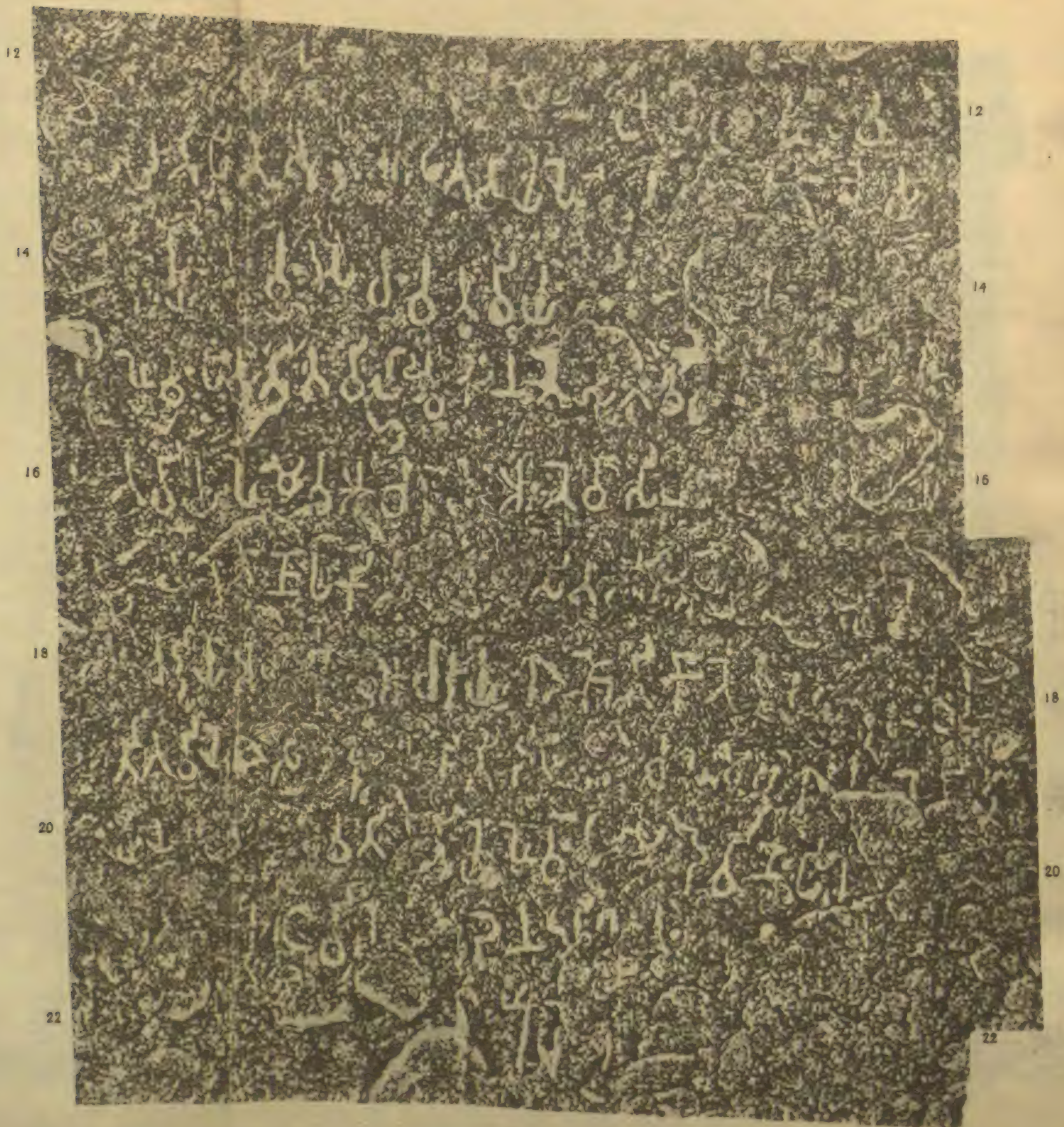
- 1 (A) [t]āna [cha va]
 2 Isi [vi]yā (B) Dev[ā]n[a]
 3 ya hakaṁ
 4 kho bādha (E) . . ti[roko]
 5 [ya]m . . [yā]
 6 [ṇa]
 7 [h]i i[yam]
 8
 9
 10 [cha] [dhi]s
 11 . . [p]ulam pi [ya]dhiyam
 12 (K) i s[āvaṇe] [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [heme]va
 13 [mā]t[ā]-pitusu [s]itav[i]y[e] he[m]e[va] [na] . . ā . es[u]
 14 . . hy[ita]v[y]am sacham vataviyam [se] ¹ i[me]
 15 hevam pa[va]titaviyā (N) [svaa]m na te s . t . va[s]
 16 taviya ² hemeva āchari[ye] amtevāsin[ā]
 17 [r]āṇā paki[ti] sita[v]iy[ā] [v]i[y]e ³
 18 . . chari[y]e a ⁴ [ā]char[i]yaśa nātikā te . . ya[thāraha]m [pava]-
 19 titaviye (O) eśā [po]rā[nā pa]kiti ⁵ d[i]gh[ā] cha (P) [he]me[va] śa e . ā .
 20 [cha] ya vati[tav]iye (Q) hevam [dhamm]e ⁶ Devāṇampi . . . ⁷
 21 . . [va]m kaṭaviye (R) ḍena [likhita]m
 22 . . [pika]reṇa ⁸

¹ e Bühler.³ . s[ā]v[e] Bühler.⁷ . p[ā]v[e] Bühler. Restore ⁸ piyasa.² I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.⁴ am Bühler.⁶ [pak]iti Bühler.⁸ hevam [m]e Bühler.⁵ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.









IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

FIRST CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडसवसाभिसितेना
- 2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीविकेहि
- 1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvāḍasa-[vasābhisitenā]¹
- 2 [iyam Nigoha]-kubhā¹ di[nā ājivikehi]¹

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave² was given to the Ājivikas.³

SECOND CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि
- 4 दिना आजीविकेहि
- 1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-
- 2 ḍasa-vasābhisitenā iyam
- 3 kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi
- 4 dinā [ājivi]kehi⁴

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājivikas.

¹ The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

² This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20, 364 f.).

³ The Ājivika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvīra. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājivikas to have been a Vaiṣṇava sect; see IA, 20, 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21, 399 ff., and IA, 41, 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2, 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913, 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājivikas' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁴ The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājivikehi*; see the plate in IA, 20, 365, D.

THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाज पियदसो एकुनवी-
- 2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
- 3 सागमथात् मे इयं कुभा
- 4 सुपिये ख दि-
- 5 ना

- 1 lāja Piyadasi ekunavī-
- 2 sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
- 3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yam kubhā]
- 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha¹ [di]-
- 5 nā²

TRANSLATION

When king Priyadarśin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me³ for (shelter during) the rainy season.⁴

¹ Restore *Khalatika-pavatasi* in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.

² The end of the inscription is marked by a *svastika* and a dagger, and by a fish below them.

³ This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words *lāja* to °*site* are nominatives absolute.

⁴ Literally: 'for the sake (*athāta* = Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya*?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. *vāsha-nishidiyāye*, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).

APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) iy[am]	dhamma-lipī							Devānaṃpriyena
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) iyaṃ	dhamma-lipī							Devānaṃpiyenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) [aya]	dhrama-dipi							Devanapriasa
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) ayi	dhra[ma]-dip[i]							Devanaṃ[priye]na
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) . . . . .	. . . . .	[si	pava]	tasi	[D]e[v]ā[na]	ṃp[iy]	. . .	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(A) iyaṃ	dhamma-lipī	Khepi[m]	galasi	pavatasi				Devānaṃpiyena
<hr/>									
<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasinā	rāñā	lekh[ā]pitā	(B) [i]dha	na	kimchi	jivam	ārabhitpā	
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadas[i]nā		[lekhit]ā	(B) [h]idā	no	kichhi	jive	ālabhitu	
<i>Shāh.</i>		rañō	likhapitu	(B) hida	no	kich[i]	jive	ara[bhitu]	
<i>Mān.</i>	Priya[draśina	rajina	li]khapita	(B) hi[da]	no	kichhi	ji[ve]	ara[bhitu]	
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . . [nā	lājina	li]khā	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. [i]vam	ālabhitu	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	Piyadasinā	lājina	likhāpitā	(B) hida	no	kichhi	jivam	ālabhi[tu]	
<hr/>									
<i>Gir.</i>	prajūhitavyam	(C) na	cha	samājo	katavyo	(D) bahukam	hi	dosam	
<i>Kāl.</i>	pajohitaviye	(C) no	pi ch[ā]	samāje	kaṭaviye	(D) bahuk[ā]	hi	dosā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	[p]rayuhotave	(C) no	pi ch[a]	sama[ja]	kaṭava	(D) ba[hu]ka	[hi]	dosha	
<i>Mān.</i>	pra[johi]taviye	(C) no	pi [cha]	samaj[e]	kaṭaviye	(D) bahu[ka]	hi	[dosha]	
<i>Dhau.</i>	pajo[h].	(C) [no	pi cha	sam]ā[je]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Ṣau.</i>	pajohitaviye	(C) no	pi cha	samāje	kaṭaviye	(D) bahukam	hi	dosam	
<hr/>									
<i>Gir.</i>	samājamhi	pasati	Devānaṃpriyo	Priyadasī	rājā			(E) asti	
<i>Kāl.</i>	samājasā		Devān[am]piye	Pi[ya]dasī	lājā	dakhati		(E) athi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	sa[maya]spi		Devanapriy[e]	Priadraśi	ray[a	da]khati		(E) [a]sti	
<i>Mān.</i>	[samajasa		Devanaṃpriye]	Priyadraśi	raja	[da]kha[ti]		(E) asti	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[samā]ja . . [d]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .		(E)	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	samājasa	drakhati	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasī	lājā			(E) athi	
<hr/>									
<i>Gir.</i>	pi	tu	ekachā	samājā	sādhu-matā			Devānaṃpriyasa	
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	ch[ā]	e]katiyā	samājā	sādh[u]-matā			Devānaṃpiyasā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	chu	ekatia	samaye	sasu-mate			Devanapiasa	
<i>Mān.</i>	[pi	chu	eka]tiya	samaja	sa[dhu]-mata			Devanapriyasa	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[pi	chu]	. . . . [t]i[y]ā	[sam]ā[jā]	s[ā]dhu-matā			Dev	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	pi	chu	ekatiyā	samājā	sādhu-matā			Devānaṃpiyasa	

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	(F) purā	mahānas[amhi]	Devānāmpriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine	(F) [p]ule	mahānasasi	Devānāmpiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priadraśisa	raño	(F) pura	mahana[sas]i	[Devana]pr[i]asa
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśi[sa]	rajine	(F) pura	maha[nasa]si	[Devana]pri[ya]sa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[Piyadasine	lā][ine]	(F)	[mah]	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	Piyadrasine	lājine	(F) puluvaṁ	mahā[nasa]si	Devānāmpiyasa

<i>Gir.</i>	Priy[a]dasino	rāño	anudivasam	bahūni	prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasisā	lājin[e]	anudivasam	bahuni	pāta-sahasāni
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priadraśisa	raño	anudivaso	bahuni	pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani
<i>Mān.</i>	Pri[yadra]śisa	rajine	anudiva[sa	ba]huni	praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piy[a]			[n]i	[p]āna-[sa]ta
<i>Ṭau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	anudivasam	bah[ū]ni	pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni

<i>Gir.</i>	ārabhisu	sūpāthāya	(G) se	aja	yadā	ayaṁ	dha[m]ma-lip[i]
<i>Kāl.</i>	alambhīyisu	supaṭhāy[e]	(G) se	i[d]ān†	ya[dā]	iyam	dhamma-lipi
<i>Shāh.</i>	[arabhi]yis[u]	supaṭhay[e]	(G) s[o	i]dani	yada	aya	dhrama-dipi
<i>Mān.</i>	[arabh]isu	supa[thra]ye	(G) s[e]	. . . . .	..[da]	ayi	dhrama-dipi
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ā]labhiyisu	sūpāthāy[e]	(G) se	a[ja]	adā	[iyam	dha[m]ma-lipī
<i>Ṭau.</i>	ālabhiyisu	sūpa[th]āye	(G) se	aja	adā	iyam	dhamma-lipī

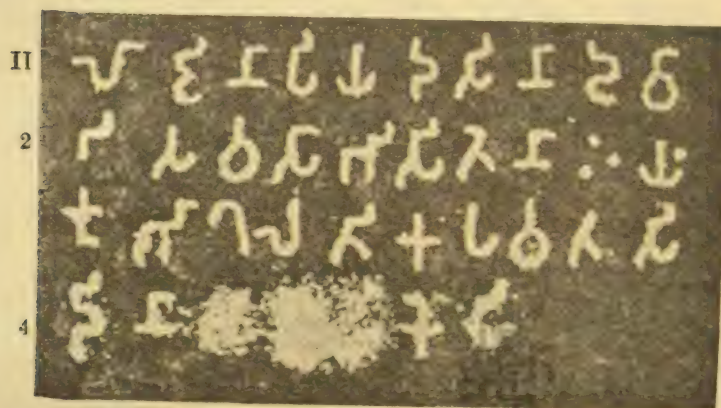
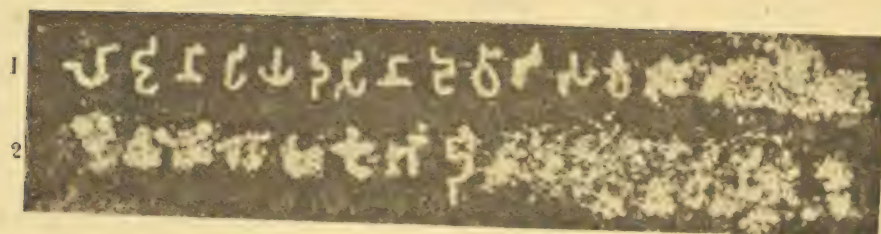
<i>Gir.</i>	likhitā	ti	eva	prāṇā	ārabhare	sūpāthāya	dvo
<i>Kāl.</i>	lekhitā	tadā	timni	yevā	pānāni	alabhi[yaṁ]ti	duve
<i>Shāh.</i>	likhita	tada	trayo	vo	praṇa	hamnāmt[i]	majura
<i>Mān.</i>	likhi[ta]	ta[da]	ti[ni]	y[eva]	pra[ṇa]ni	[ara]bh[iyaṁti]	du[v]e [2]
<i>Dhau.</i>	likhitā	tim	. . . . .	. . . . .	[āla]bh[iy]	. . . . .	. . . . .
<i>Ṭau.</i>	likhitā	timni	yeva	pānāni	āla[m]bhiyaṁti		duve

<i>Gir.</i>	morā	eko	mago	so	pi	mago	na	dhruvo
<i>Kāl.</i>	majūl[ā]	eke	mige	se	pi	[chū]	mige	no
<i>Shāh.</i>	duv[i] 2	mrugo	1	so	pi		mrugo	no
<i>Mān.</i>	majura	[e]k[e]	m[r]ig[e]	s[e]	p[i]	chu	mrig[e]	no
<i>Dhau.</i>								dhruva[m]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	majulā	eke	mige	se	pi	chu	mige	no

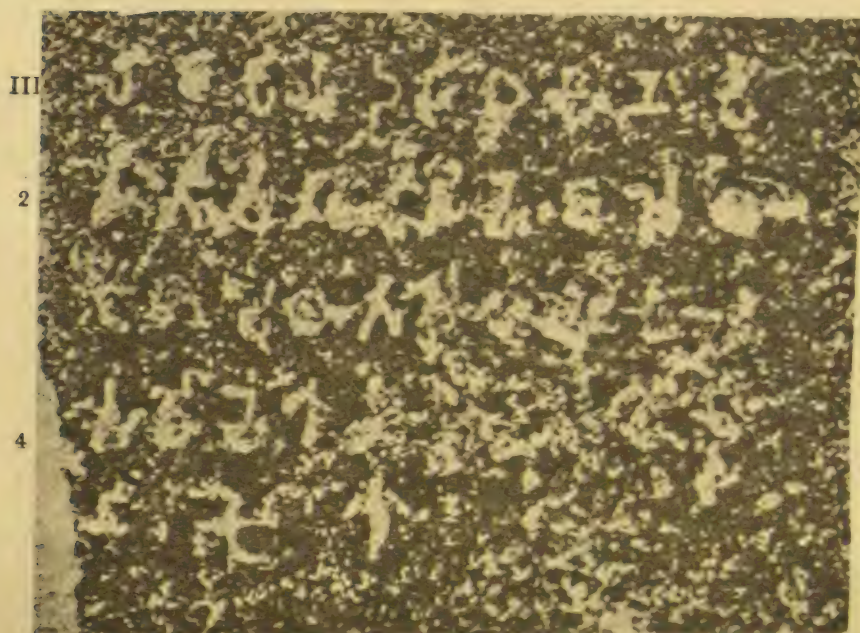
<i>Gir.</i>	(H) ete	pi	trī	prāṇā	pachhā	na	ārabhisare
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H) e[t]āni	pi	ch[u]	tini	pānā[n]i	no	alābhi[y]isa[m]ti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H) eta	pi		praṇa	trayo	pacha	na
<i>Mān.</i>	(H) [e]tani	pi	chu	[tini]	praṇani	pacha	no
<i>Dhau.</i>			[t]imni	pānāni	pachhā	n[o]	āl[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(H) etāni	pi	chu	timni	pānāni	pachhā	no

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) sarvata	vijitamhi	Devānāmpriyasa	Piyadasino	rāño
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) sav[a]tā	vijitasi	Devānāmpiyas[ā]	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) sav[r]atra	vijite	[De]va[nam]priyasa	Priyadraśisa	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) sa[vatra	vi]jitasi	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) [sa]vata	[v]i[ji]tasi	[D]e[v]ānāmpiyasa	Piyadasi[ne	l]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(A) savata	vijitasi	Devānāmpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine



Scale One-Fourth
Centre for the Study



<i>Gir.</i>	evamapi	prachamtesu	yathā	Choḍā	Pādā	Satiyaputo
<i>Kāl.</i>	ye cha	am̐tā	[a]thā	Choḍā	Paṁ[di]yā	Sātiyaputo
<i>Shāh.</i>	y[e] cha	[a]m̐ta	yatha	[Choḍa]	Paṁḍiya	Satiyaputro
<i>Mān.</i>	ye cha	ata	atha	[Choḍa]	Pa[m̐di]ya	Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra]
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	[athā]	.	.	.
<i>Ḥau.</i>	e vā pi	am̐tā	athā	Choḍā	Paṁḍiyā	Satiyapu[t]e

<i>Gir.</i>	Ketalaputo	ā	Tambapaṁṇī	Am̐tiyako	Yona-rājā	ye vā pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	Ke[lala]puto		Tamba[pa]m̐ni	Am̐tiyoge	[n]āma	Yona-lājā ye chā am̐ne
<i>Shāh.</i>	Keraḍaputro		Tambapaṁṇī	Am̐tiyo[k]o	nama	Yona-rajā ye cha am̐ne
<i>Mān.</i>	Keralaputra		[Taṁ]bapaṇi	[A]tiyoge	nama	Yona-[raja] ye cha [a] . .
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . [t]iyoke	nāma	Yo[na]-lājā [e] vā [p]i
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . . i	Am̐tiyoke	nāma	Yona-lājā [e] vā pi

<i>Gir.</i>	tasa	Am̐tiy[a]kas[a]	sām̐p[am̐]	rājāno	sarvatra	Devānam̐priyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	tas[ā]	A[m̐tiyogasā]	sā[ma]m̐tā	lā[j]āno	[sa]vatā	Devānam̐piyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasa	Am̐tiyokasa	samaṁta	rajano	savratra	Devanam̐priyasa
<i>Mān.</i>	. . sa	. . . . . [gasā]	samata	ra[jane	sa]vratra	. . . . . priyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	[ta]sa	Am̐tiyo[k]a[sā]	sāmaṁtā	lājāne	savat[a]	D]evā[nam̐]i[ye]na
<i>Ḥau.</i>	tasa	Am̐tiyokasa	sāmaṁtā	lājāne	savata	Devānam̐piyena

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	dve	chikīchha	katā	manusa-chikīchhā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasisā	lājine	duve	chikisakā	kaṭā	manusa-chikisā	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraśisa	raño	du[vi] 2	chik[i]sa	[kr]i[ṭa]	manuśa-chikisa	. .
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśisa	rajine	[duve 2]	chikisa	[ka]ṭa	manuśa-chik[isa]	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	P[i]yadasi[nā]	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[s]ā	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	Piyadasinā	lāji	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	[ch]ikisā	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	pasu-chikīchhā	cha	(B) osuḍhāni	cha	yāni	m[a]nusopagān[i]	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	pasu-chikisā	chā	(B) osadhīn[i]			manusopagāni	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pa[śu-ch]ikisa	[cha]	(B) [o]sha[ḍha]ni			manuśopakani	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	paśu-[chi]kisa	cha	(B) osha[ḍha]ni			manu . . . ka[ni]	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā]	cha	(B) dhāni	ān[i]	m]u[nisopa]gāni		
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pasu-chikisā	cha	(B) osadhāni	āni	munisopagāni		

<i>Gir.</i>	paso[pa]gāni	cha	yata	yata	nāsti	sarvatrā	hārāpitāni	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	pasopagāni	chā	a[ta]tā		n[a]th[i]	sa]vatā	[h]ālāpitā	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	paśopakani	cha	yat[r]a	yatra	nasti	savatra	harapita	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	pa [kani	cha	atra	atra	nasti	savra]tra	[ha]rapit[ta	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	pasu-opagān[i]	cha	atata		na[thi	savata	hā]lāpit[ā]	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pasu-opagāni	cha	atata		nathi	sava[ta]	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	ropāpitāni	cha	(C)	mūlāni	cha	phalāni	cha	yata yatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	lo[p]āpit[ā]	chā	(C) [e]vamevā	mūlāni	chā	phalāni	chā	a[ta]t[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	vuta	cha						
<i>Mān.</i>	ropa[pita]	cha	(C) e[va]meva	mulani	[cha]	phalani	[cha]	a[tra a]tra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[lo]pāp[i]tā	[cha]	(C)	mū[l]	.	.	.	.
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	cha	atata

<i>Gir.</i>	nāsti sarvata	hārāpitāni cha	rop[ā]pitāni cha	(D) paṁthesū kūpā
<i>Kāl.</i>	nathi savatā	hālāp[i]tā chā	lopāpitā [ch]ā	(D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni
<i>Shāh.</i>				
<i>Mān.</i>	[na]sti [savra]tra	harapita cha	ro[pa]pita cha	(D) ma[geshu] ruchhani
<i>Dhau.</i>	. . . . . v[a]t[a]	hālāpitā [cha]	lo[p]āpitā cha	(D) ma[g]e[su] udu]pānāni
<i>Ḥau.</i>	nathi s[a]vatra	hālāpitā cha	lopāpitā cha	(D) magesu udupānāni

<i>Gir.</i>	cha khānāpitā	vrachhā	cha ropāpit[ā]	paribhogāya	pasu-manusānam
<i>Kāl.</i>	lopitāni	ud[u]pānā[n]i	chā khānāpitāni	paṭibhogāye	pasu-munis[ā]nam
<i>Shāh.</i>	(C) kupa		cha khanapita	pratibh[o]gaye	paśu-manuśanam
<i>Mān.</i>	[ropa]pi[tani]	. . . . .	[pi]tani	paṭibhogaye	paśu-m[uni]śanam
<i>Dhau.</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha lopā[p]itāni	p[a]ṭibhogāye	. . . . . [na]m
<i>Ḥau.</i>	khānāpitāni	lukhāni	cha		

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	r[ā]jā	evam	āha	(B) dbādasa-
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) De[vā]nampiye	Piyadasi	lājā	h[e]vam	āhā	(B) du[v]ādasa-
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devanampriyo	Priyadraśi	raja		ahati	(B) badaya-
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	eva	a[ha]	(B) duva[ḍa]śa-
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B) duvādasa-
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(A) Devā[na]m̐piye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B) duvādasa-

<i>Gir.</i>	vāsābhisitena	mayā	idam	ān[a]pitam	(C) sarvata	vijite	mama
<i>Kāl.</i>	v[a]sābhisitena	me	iyam	ānapayite	(C) savatā	vijitasi	[mama]
<i>Shāh.</i>	vashabh[i]si[tena]	. . . . .	[a]napi[tam]	(C) savatra	ma[a]	vijite	
<i>Mān.</i>	vashabhisetena	me	iyam	[ānapayit]e	(C) savrat[r]a	vijitasi	. . . . .
<i>Dhau.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	iy[a]m	ānāp[ay]i	. . . . . (C)	[ta v]i[j]it[a]si	m[e]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	iyam	[ā]	. . . . .	

<i>Gir.</i>	yutā cha	rājūke	cha	prādesike	cha paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vāsesu
<i>Kāl.</i>	yutā	laj[ū]k[e]		pādesike	pa[m]cha[s]u	paṁchasu	vasesu
<i>Shāh.</i>	yuta	rajuko		pradeśi[ka]	paṁcha]shu	paṁchashu	5 vasheshu
<i>Mān.</i>	. . ta	[ra]ju . .		pradeśike	[paṁ]chashu	paṁ[chashu]	5 vashesh[u]
<i>Dhau.</i>	yut[ā]	la[j]u[k]e	. . . . .		paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vasesu
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .		cha	pād[e]sike	cha paṁchasu	paṁchasu	vasesu

<i>Gir.</i>	anusaṁy[ā]na[m]	n]iyātu		etāyeva	athāya	imāya	dhammānusasṭiya
<i>Kāl.</i>	[a]nusa[m]yānam	nikham[a]m]tu		etāye	vā a[ṭh]āye	imāya	dhammanusathiyā
<i>Shāh.</i>	anusaṁyanam	nik[r]amatu		etisa	vo karaṇa	imisa	dhammanuśastiye
<i>Mān.</i>	anusa[m]yana[m]	nikramatu		etaye	va athraye	imaye	dhramanuśastiye
<i>Dhau.</i>	anusayānam	nikhamāvū					
<i>Ḥau.</i>	anusayānam	nikhamāvū					

<i>Gir.</i>	yathā	añāya	pi	kaṁmāy[a]			
<i>Kāl.</i>	yathā	aṁ[nāye]	pi	kaṁmāye			
<i>Shāh.</i>	[tha]	añāye	pi	kraṁmaye			
<i>Mān.</i>	ya[tha]	añāye	pi	krama[ne]			
<i>Dhau.</i>	athā	aṁnāye	pi	[ka]m[ma]ne	hevam	imā[y]e	[dham]mānus[ath]iy[e]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	athā	aṁnāye	pi	kaṁma[n]e	. . . . .	

<i>Gir.</i>	(D)	[s]ādhu	mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā	mitra-saṁstuta-ñātīnaṁ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(D)	sādhu	māta-pitisu	sususā	mita-saṁthuta-nāṭikyān[aṁ] chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(D)	sadhu	mata-pitushu	suśrusha	mitra-saṁst[u]ta-ñāṭikanam
<i>Mān.</i>	(D)	[sadhu	mata]-pi[tu]shu	[s]u[śrusha	mitra]-sa[m]stuta-ñāṭikanam cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	(D)	[s]ādh[u]	māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su	su[s]ūs[ā	m] nātisu cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	[s]ā	mita-saṁthute[s] . . . nātisu ch[a]

<i>Gir.</i>	bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ	sādh[u d]ānaṁ	prāṇānaṁ	sādhu	anāraṁbho
<i>Kāl.</i>	baṁbhana-sama[nā]naṁ	[chā]	sādhu d[ā]ne	pāṇānaṁ	anālaṁbh[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nam]	.	.	[pra]ṇanaṁ	[anaraṁ]bho
<i>Mān.</i>	bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m]	sadhu	dane	praṇana	[anara]bhe
<i>Dhau.</i>	baṁbhana-samanehi	sādhu	dāne	jīvesu	anālaṁbhe
<i>Ḥau.</i>	baṁbhana-samanehi	sādhu	dāne	jīvesu	[a]nālaṁbhe

<i>Gir.</i>	apa-vyayatā	apa-bhāḍatā	sādhu (E)	parisā	pi	yute
<i>Kāl.</i>	sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā	[a]pa-[bha]m[ḍa]t[ā]	sādhu (E)	palisā	pi	cha yutāni
<i>Shāh.</i>	sadhu apa-vayata	apa-bhaṁdata	sadhu (E)	pari	[pi]	yutani
<i>Mān.</i>	sadhu apa-[va]yata	apa-bha[ḍata]	sadhu (E)	pārisha	pi	cha yutani
<i>Dhau.</i>	sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]	apa-bh[am]ḍatā	sādhu (E)	p[a]lisā	pi	cha . . . [nas]i
<i>Ḥau.</i>	sādhu	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	āṇapayisati	gaṇanāyaṁ	hetuto	cha	vyamjanato	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ga]ṇanasi	anap[a]yisanti	hetuvatā	chā	viyamjanat[e]	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[ga]ṇanasi	aṇapeṣanti	hetuto	cha	vaṁṇanato	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	ga[ṇa]nasi	[aṇapa]yisā[ti]	he[tute]	cha	vi[yaṁja]nate	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	y[u]t[ān]i	ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti	[he]tut[e]	ch[a]	vi[yaṁja]	. . . . .
<i>Ḥau.</i>	. . . . .	[y]i	hetute	cha	viyamjanate	cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	atikātam	aṁt[a]raṁ	bahūni	vāsa-satāni	vaḍhito	eva
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	atika[m]tam	a[m]ta[la]m	bahuni	vasa-satāni	v[adh]it[e]	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	atikratam	aṁtaram	bahuni	vasha-śatani	vaḍhito	vo
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	atikratam	ata[raṁ]	bahuni	vasha-śa[ta]ni	vadhite	vo
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	atikamtam	aṁtalam	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(A)	a[t]ikamtam	aṁtalam	bahūni	vasa-satāni	vaḍhite	va

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇāraṁbho	vihimsā	cha	bhūtānaṁ	ñātīsu	a[s]aṁpratipati
<i>Kāl.</i>	pā[nā]laṁbhe	vi[h]isā	chā	bhutaṇam	nātinā	asaṁ[pa]ti[p]a[ti]
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇaraṁbho	vihisa	cha	bhuta[na]m	ñatina	asaṁpaṭipati
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇaram[bh]e	vihi[sa]	cha	bhutanam	ñatina	asapa[t]ipati
<i>Dhau.</i>	pānā[la]mbhe	vihisā	cha	bhūtānaṁ	nātīsu	asaṁpaṭipati
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pānālaṁbhe	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṁ	asaṁpratipati	(B)	ta	aja	Devānaṁpriyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	samana-b[aṁ]bhanānaṁ	asaṁpaṭipati	(B)	s[e]	ajā	Devānaṁpiyasā
<i>Shāh.</i>	śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m]	a[sam]paṭipati	(B)	[so	aja	Devana]mpriyasa
<i>Mān.</i>	śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana	asa[m]paṭipati	(B)	se	aja	[De]vanapriyasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	samana-bābha[ne]su	asaṁpaṭipati	(B)	se	aja	Devānaṁpiyasa
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	(B)	se	aja	Devānaṁpiyasa

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	dhamma-charaṇena	[bhe]rī-ghoso	aho
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā	bheli-ghose	aho
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraśisa	[raño]	dhrama-charaṇena	bheri-ghosha	aho
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na	bheri-ghoshe	aho
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamma-chalanena	bheli-ghosam	a[h]o
<i>Ḥau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	dhamma-chalanena	bhe[l]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-ghoso	vimāna-darsaṇā	cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha agi-kh[a]m dhāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-ghose	vimana-dasan[ā]	[ha]thini agi-kaṁdh[ā]ni
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-ghosha	vimanana[m] draśanam	[a]stina joti-kaṁdhani
<i>Mān.</i>	dhama-ghoshe	vimana-draśana	asti[ne] agi-kaṁdhan[i]
<i>Dhau.</i>	dhamma-[gho]sam	vimāna-dasanam	hathīni [a]gi-kaṁdhāni
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	[a]ñāni	cha	divyāni	rūpāni	dasayitpā	janam	(C) yārise
<i>Kāl.</i>		añnāni	chā	divyāni	lupāni	dasayitu	jana[sa]	(C) [ā]disā
<i>Shāh.</i>		añani	cha	divani	rupani	draśayitu	janasa	(C) yadiśam
<i>Mān.</i>		aña[ni]	cha	di[vani]	rupani	draśeti	janasa	(C) [a]diśe
<i>Dhau.</i>		añnāni	cha	[di]vi[y]āni	lūpān[i]	dasayitu	munisānam	(C) ād[i]se
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	divi[y]āni	lūpāni	drasayitu	munisānam	(C) ādise

<i>Gir.</i>	bahūhi	v[āsa]-satehi	na	bhūta-puve	tārise	aja	vaḍhite
<i>Kāl.</i>	ba[h]u[hi]	v[asa]-[sa]tehi	nā	huta-puluve	tādise	ajā	vaḍhite
<i>Shāh.</i>	bahuhi	vasha-śatehi	na	bhuta-pruve	tadiśe	aja	vaḍhite
<i>Mān.</i>	bahuhi	vasha-śa[tehi]	na	[hu]ta-pr[u]ve	tadiśe	[a]ja	vaḍhite
<i>Dhau.</i>	b[a]hūhi	vasa-sa[t]ehi	no	hūta-puluve	tādise	aja	va[ḍhite]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	bahūhi	vasa-sate	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Devānam priyasa	Priyadasino	rāño	dhammānusastiyā	anāram[bh]o
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānam piyasā	Piyadasine	[l]ājine	dhammanusathiye	a[n]ālambhe
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanam priyasa	Priyadraśisa	raño	dhrammanuśa[sti]ya	anarambho
<i>Mān.</i>	[De]vanapriyasa	Priyadraśine	rajine	dhramanuśastiya	anarabhe
<i>Dhau.</i>	[De]vānam piyasa	Piy[a]dasine	lājine	dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā	an[āla]mbhe
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	dhammānusastiyā	anālambhe

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇanam	avihiśa	bhūtānam	ñātīnam	sam̐paṭipatī	brahmaṇa-samaṇānam
<i>Kāl.</i>	pānānam	avihiśa	bhutanam	nāti[nam]	sam̐paṭipati	baṁbha[na-sa]manānam
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇa[nam]	avihiśa	bhutanam	ñātina[m]	sam̐pa[ṭi]pati	[bra]maṇa-śramaṇana
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇana	avihiśa	bhutana	ñātina	sam̐paṭipati	bamaṇa-śramaṇana
<i>Dhau.</i>	pānānam	avihiśa	bhūtānam	nātisu	sam̐paṭipat[i]	sama[na-b[ā]bhanesu
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pānānam	avihiśa	bhūtānam	nātisu	[sam̐pa]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	sam̐paṭipatī	mātari pitari	[s]usrusā	thaira-susrusā	(D) esa	añe
<i>Kāl.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	mātā-pitisu	susūsā		(D) ese	chā amne
<i>Shāh.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	mata-pitushu		vudhana[m]suśrusa	(D) e[ta]	añam
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[m̐]paṭipati	mata-pitushu	suśru[sha]	vudhrana [su]śrusa	(D) eshe	añ[e]
<i>Dhau.</i>	sam̐paṭipati	m[ā]t[i]-pitu-	susūsā	vu[ḍha]-susūsā	(D) esa	amne
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	(D) esa	amne

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	[dha]m̐ma-charaṇe	va[dhi]te	(E) vaḍhayisati	cheva
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ba[h]uvidhe	dham̐ma-chalane	vadh[i]te	(E) vadhiyisati	chevā
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	bahuvidham̐	dhrama-charaṇam̐	vaḍhitam̐	(E) vaḍhiṣati	cha yo
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	dhrama-charaṇe	vadhrite	(E) vadhrayiṣati	yeva
<i>Dhau.</i>	cha	ba[h]uvidhe	dh[a]m̐ma-chalane	vaḍhite	(E) vaḍhayis[a]ti	cheva
<i>Ḥau.</i>	cha	bahuvidhe	dham̐ma-chalane	vaḍhite	(E) va[dhay]i	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Devānam̐priyo	[Pri*]ya[da]si	rājā		dham̐ma-[cha]raṇam̐	idam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānam̐piy[e]	Piyadasī	lāja	ima[m̐]	dha[m̐]ma-chalanam̐	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanam̐priyasa	Priyadraṣisa	raño		dhrama-charaṇam̐	ima[m̐]
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriye	Priyadraṣi	raja		dhama-[cha]raṇa	ima[m̐]
<i>Dhau.</i>	Devānam̐piye	Piyada[s]i	l[ā]jā		dham̐ma-chalanam̐	imam̐
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(F) putrā	cha	[p]otrā	cha	prapotrā	cha	Devānam̐priyasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F) putā	cha	kaṁ	natale	chā	panātikyā	ch[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F) putra	pi	cha	kaṁ	nataro	cha	pranatika
<i>Mān.</i>	(F) [putra]	pi	cha	ka	natare	cha	paṇatika
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F) putā	pi	chu	nati	[panati]	.	[cha]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	Priyadasino	rāño	[pra*]vadhayisaṁti		idam̐	[dha]m̐ma-charaṇam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	[pa]v[a]dhayisaṁti	ch]ev[a]		dham̐ma-chalanam̐
<i>Shāh.</i>	Priyadraṣisa	raño	pra[va]dh[e]ṣaṁti	[yo]		dhrama-charaṇam̐
<i>Mān.</i>	Priyadaṣine	rajine	pavaḍhayisaṁti	yo		dhrama-charaṇa
<i>Dhau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayisaṁti	yeva		dham̐ma-chalanam̐
<i>Ḥau.</i>	Piyadasine	lājine	pavaḍhayi[sam̐]t[i]	[y]e[va]		dham̐ma-cha[la]

<i>Gir.</i>		āva savaṭa-kapā	dham̐mam̐hi	sīlam̐hi	tistaṁto	[dha]m̐mam̐
<i>Kāl.</i>	i[maṁ]	āva-kapa[m̐]	dham̐masi	s[i]lasi	chā	chiṭhit[u]
<i>Shāh.</i>	ima[m̐]	ava]-kapa	dhrame	śile	cha	tiṭhiti
<i>Mān.</i>	imam̐	[a]va-kapaṁ	dhrame	śile	cha	[chi]ṭhitu
<i>Dhau.</i>	imam̐	ā-k[a]paṁ	dham̐masi	[s]ilasi	ch[a]	ch[i]ṭh]itu
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	anusāsisaṁti	(G) [e]sa	hi	seṭhe	kaṁme	ya	dham̐mānusāsanaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	anusāsisaṁti	(G) ese	hi	seṭhe	kaṁm[am̐]	am̐	dham̐mānusāsanaṁ
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuśāṣisaṁti	(G) eta	h[i]	s]reṭham̐	k[r]ama[m̐]	yam̐	dhraman[u]śāṣana[m̐]
<i>Mān.</i>	anu[śa]ṣisaṁti	(G) eshe	hi	sreṭhe		a[m̐]	dhramanuśāṣana
<i>Dhau.</i>	[a]nus[ā]sisam̐[t]i	(G) esa	h[i]	se[ṭhe]	kaṁ]me	yā	dham̐mānusāsana
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-charaṇe	pi	na	[bha]vati	asīlasa	(I) [ta]	imam̐hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chā	no	hoti	asīlasā	(I) se im[a]s[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H) dhrama-charaṇa[m̐]	pi	cha	na	bhoti	aśīlasa	(I) so imisa
<i>Mān.</i>	(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]	pi	[cha]	na	hoti	aśi[la]sa	(I) se imasa
<i>Dhau.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chu	no	hoti	asīlasa	(I) se imasa
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(H) dham̐ma-chalane	pi	chu	no	ho[t]i	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	param	cha	tena	y[a]	me	[a]pacham	āva samivata-kapā
<i>Kāl.</i>	[chā]	palam	[chā]	tehi	[ye]	apatiye	[m]e	āva-kapam
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	para[m]	cha	[tena	y]e	me	apacha vrakshamti	ava-kapam
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	para	cha	t[e]na	ye	apatiye	me	[a]va-[ka]pam
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]	. . . . m	cha	t[e]na	ye	apatiye	me	āva-kapam
<i>Ḥau.</i>	va	palam	cha	te	.	.	.	.

Gir. anuvatisare tathā so sukaṭaṃ kāsati (F) yo tu eta deṣaṃ
Kāl. tathā anuvaṭisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭaṃ kachham[t]i (F) e chu heṭ[ā] deṣaṃ
Shāh. tatha ye an[u]vaṭisaṃti te s[u]kiṭa[m] kashaṃti (F) yo chu ato . . kaṃ
Mān. tatha anuvaṭisati se sukaṭa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deṣa
Dhau. tathā anuvatisaṃti s[e] sukaṭaṃ kachh[am]ti (F) e heta d[esa]m
Ḥau.

[illegible]

<i>Gir.</i>	(H)	atikātaṃ	am̐taraṃ	na	bhūta-pruvaṃ	dham̐ma-mahāmātā	nāma	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H)	se	atikaṃtaṃ	am̐talaṃ	no	huta-puluva	dham̐[ma]-mahāmātā	nāmā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H)	sa	atikrataṃ	atara	no	bhuta-pruva	dham̐ma-ma[ha]ma[tra]	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	(H)	s[e]	atikrata[m̐]	a[m̐]tara[m̐]	na	bhuta-pruva	dham̐ma-[ma]hamat̐ra	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	(H)	s[e]	at[ikaṃ]taṃ	am̐talaṃ	no	hūta-puluvā	dham̐ma-mahāmātā	nāmā
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(H)	se	[a]	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-vāsābhi[s]i[tena]	dhamm[a]-mahāmātā	katā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitena mamayā	dhamma-mahāmātā	ka)[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena maya	dhrama-mahamatra	kiṭa
<i>Mān.</i>	(I) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya	dhrama-mahamatra	kaṭa
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena me	dhamma-mahāmātā nāma	kaṭā
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(Ÿ) te	sava-pāsaṁdesu	-vyāpatā	dhāmadhiṭṭhānāya	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(Ÿ) [te]	sav[a]-pāsaṁ[de]su	viyā[pa]tā	dham[m]adhiṭṭhā[nāye	ch]ā	dhamma-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(Ÿ) te	savra-prasaṁdesh[u]	vapaṭa	dhammadhiṭṭhanaye	cha	dharma-	
<i>Mān.</i>	(Ÿ) te	savra-pa[sha]desha	vapaṭa	dhammadhiṭṭha[na]ye	cha	dharma-	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(Ÿ) te	sava-pāsaṁde[su]	v[i]y[ā]pata	dhammadhiṭṭhān[ā]ye		dhamma-	
<i>Ÿau.</i>	.	.	.	[dha]m[m]a[dhi]ṭṭhānā	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>				[dha]m̐ma-yutasa	cha	Yona-K[a]m̐bo[ja]-
<i>Kāl.</i>	vaḍhiyā	hi[da]-sukhāye	vā	dham̐m[a]-yutas[ā]		Yona-Kam̐b[o]ja-
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaḍhiya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dhrama-yutasa		Yona-Kam̐boya-
<i>Mān.</i>	vadhriya	hida-sukhaye	cha	dh[r]ama-yutasa		Yona-Kam̐boja-
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]dhiye	hita-sukhāye	[cha]	dham̐ma-yutas[a]		Yona-Kam̐bocha-
<i>Fau.</i>						

<i>Gir.</i>	ñātikā	sarvata	vyāpatā	te	(N) yo	ayaṃ	dhamma-nisrito	ti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	nātikye	savatā	viyā[pa]tā		(N) e	iyam	dhamma-nisite	ti	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ñatika	savatra	viyapuṭa		(N) y[e]	ayaṃ	dh[r]ama-niṣite	ti	va
<i>Mān.</i>	ñatike	savratra	viyapaṭa		(N) [e]	iyam	dhrama-niṣito	to	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nāt]i[su]	sava[tā]	v[i]yāpatā		(N) e	iyam	dhamm[a-n]isite	ti	va
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama[dhitha]ne	ti	va	dana-s[a]yute	ti	va	savata	vijite	maa dhrama-
<i>Mān.</i>	dhramadhithane	ti	va	dana-sam̐yute	ti	va	savratra	vijitasi	maa dhrama-
<i>Dhau.</i>	dhammādhithāne	ti	va	dāna-sayute		va	sava-putḥaviyam		dha[m]ma-
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	yutasi	viyāpatā	te	dhamma-m[a]hāmātā	(O) etāya	athāya	ayaṃ	dhamma-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	yu[ta]si	viyapaṭa	te	dhrama-mahamatra	(O) etaye	aṭhāye	[i]yam	dhamma-	
<i>Mān.</i>	yutasi	vapuṭa	[te]	dhrama-mahamatra	(O) etaye	athraye	ayi	dhrama-	
<i>Dhau.</i>	yutasi	viyāpatā	ime	dhamma-mahām[ā]tā	(O) [i]m[ā]ye	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	lipi	likhitā	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	lipi	lekhitā	chi[la]-thitikyā	hotu	[tathā]	cha	me	[pa]jā	[a]nuva[ta]tu
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipi	nipista	ch[i]ra-thitika	bhot[u]	ta[tha]	cha	[m]e	p[r]aja	anuvatatū
<i>Mān.</i>	dipi	likhita	chira-ṭhitika	hotu	tatha	cha	me	praja	anuvatatū
<i>Dhau.</i>	lip[i]	li[kh]i[tā]	chila-ṭhitik[ā]	ho]tu	t[athā]	cha	me	pa[jā]	anu]vatatu
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) [Devā]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) Dev[ā]naṃpi[y]e	Piyadas[i]	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) atikrāt[a]m	aṃtara[m]		
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	eva	ahati	(B) atikrataṃ	aṃtara		
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raja	[e]va[m]	aa	(B) atikrataṃ	ataraṃ		
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) Dev[ānaṃp]iye	Pi[yada]sī	lājā	[he]vaṃ	[ā]hā	(B) atikaṃ[taṃ]	a[m]ta[laṃ]		
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(A) [na]ṃpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṃ	āhā	(B) atikaṃtaṃ	aṃtalaṃ		

<i>Gir.</i>	na	bhūta-pru[v] .	[s] . [v] . . . [l] .	atha-kaṃme	va	paṭivedanā	vā
<i>Kāl.</i>	no	huta-puluv[e]	sav[a]m	kalam	aṭha-k[am]me	[v]ā	[paṭ]i[veda]nā
<i>Shāh.</i>	na	bhuta-pruvaṃ	sava[m]	kala[m]	aṭha-ka[ra]naṃ	va	paṭivedana
<i>Mān.</i>	na	huta-pruve	[sa]vraṃ	kala	athra-[ka]na	va	[pa]ṭivedana
<i>Dhau.</i>	no	[h]ū[ta]-puluve	s[a]vaṃ	kālam	aṭha-ka[m]me	va	[pa]ṭiveda[n]ā
<i>Ṣau.</i>	no	hūta-puluve	savaṃ	kālam	aṭha-ka[ra]m[e]		paṭivedanā

<i>Gir.</i>	(C) ta	mayā	evaṃ	kataṃ	(D) s[a]ve	kāle	bhumj[a]mānasa	me
<i>Kāl.</i>	(C) s[e]	ma[may]ā	hevaṃ	kaṭe	(D) s[a]vaṃ	kālaṃ	adamānas[ā]	me
<i>Shāh.</i>	(C) ta[m]	maya	eva[m]	kiṭa[m]	(D) savraṃ	kalam	aśamanasa	me
<i>Mān.</i>	(C) ta	maya	evaṃ	kiṭaṃ	(D) savra	kalam	aśatasa	me
<i>Dhau.</i>	(C) se	mamayā		kaṭe	(D) sa[va]m	[kālaṃ]	. . . . [māna]sa	me
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(C) se	mamayā		kaṭe	(D) savam	kālaṃ	. . . . [sa m]e	

<i>Gir.</i>	orodhanamhi	gabhāgāramhi	vachamhi	va	vinītamhi	cha	uyānesu
<i>Kāl.</i>	olodhanasi	gabhāgālas[i]	va[chas]i		vin[itasi	u]y[ānasi]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	orodhanaspi	grabhagaraspi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi	uyanaspī	
<i>Mān.</i>	orodhane	grabhagarasi	vrachaspi		vinitaspi	uyanaspī	
<i>Dhau.</i>	amte	olodh[a]nasi	ga[bhā]g[āla]si	v[achas]i	[v]inītasi	[u]y[ā]n[asi]	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	amte	olodhanasi	gabhāgālasī	vachasi	vinītas[i]	uyānasi	

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	savatra	paṭivedakā	ṣītā	athe	me	[ja]nasa	paṭivedetha
<i>Kāl.</i>		[sava]t[ā	paṭive]dakā		aṭha[m]		janasā	... vedetu
<i>Shāh.</i>		savatra	paṭivedaka		aṭham		janasa	paṭivedetu
<i>Mān.</i>		savratra	pa[t]i[ve]da[ka]		athra		janasa	paṭivedetu
<i>Dhau.</i>	[cha sa]vata		paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭham	[pa]ṭived[a]yarmtu
<i>Ḥau.</i>	cha	savata	paṭivedakā		janasa		aṭham	paṭivedayarmtu

<i>Gir.</i>		iti	(E)	sarvatra	cha	janasa	athe	karomi
<i>Kāl.</i>	[m]e		(E)	sa[va]tā	[ch]ā	ja[nas]ā	aṭham	kachhāmi hakam
<i>Shāh.</i>	me		(E)	savatra	cha	ja[na]sa	aṭh[r]a	karomi
<i>Mān.</i>	me		(E)	savratra	cha	janasa	athra	kar[o]mi aham
<i>Dhau.</i>	m[e] ti		(E)	sava[ta]	ch[a]	j[a]nasa	aṭham	kalāmi h[aka]m
<i>Ḥau.</i>	me ti		(E)	savata	cha	janasa		[ka]m

<i>Gir.</i>	(F)	ya	cha	kimchi	mukhato	ānapayāmi	svayam	dāpakam vā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F)	yam	pi	ch[ā] k[i]chhi	m[u]kha[t]e	ānapayāmi	[ha]kam	dā[pakam] v[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F)	ya[m]	pi	cha ki[chi]	mukhato	anapayami	a[ham]	dapa[ka] va
<i>Mān.</i>	(F)	yam	pi	cha kichhi	mukhato	anapemi	aham	dapakam va
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F)	am	pi	cha ki[m]chhi	mukh[a]te	ānapay[ā]mi		dāpakam v[ā]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(F)	am	pi	cha kimchhi	mukhate	ānapayāmi		dāpakam vā

<i>Gir.</i>	srāvāpakam	vā	ya	vā	puna	mahāmātresu	āchāyi[ke]	aropitam bhavati
<i>Kāl.</i>	[sāvakam]	vā	ye	vā	punā	mahāmat[e]hi	a[tiyāyike	ālopite h[o]t[i]
<i>Shāh.</i>	śravaka	va	ye	va	p[a]na	mahamatrana	a[cha]yika	a[ro]pitam bhoti
<i>Mān.</i>	śravakam	va	ye	va	puna	mahamatrehi	achayike	aropite hoti
<i>Dhau.</i>	[sā]v[a]kam	vā	e	vā		mahām[āteh]i	atiyāyike	ālopite hoti
<i>Ḥau.</i>	sāvakam	vā	e	v[ā]		mah[ā]mātehi	a[t]i[yā]yike	[ā]lopite hoti

<i>Gir.</i>	tāya athāya	vivādo	nijhatī	v[a s]amto	parisāyam	ānamtaram	
<i>Kāl.</i>	tā[yeṭh]ā[ye]	vivāde	n[i]jhati	v[ā] samtam	palis[ā]ye	anam[ta]l[i]yenā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	taye aṭhaye	viva[de]	nijha[t]i	va satam	parishaye	anamtariyena	
<i>Mān.</i>	taye athraye	vivade	nijati	va samta	par[isha]ye	a[na]taliyena	
<i>Dhau.</i>	tasi aṭhasi	v[i]vāde	va [n]ijhatī	vā samtam	palisāyā	āna[m]taliyam	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	tasi aṭhasi	vivāde	va		lisāy[am]	ānam[ta]liyam	

<i>Gir.</i>	paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam	me	sa[r]vatra	sarve	kāle	(G)	evam	mayā
<i>Kāl.</i>	paṭ[i]	viye	me	sav[a]t[ā]	savam	kālam	(G)	hevam ānapayite
<i>Shāh.</i>	paṭivedetavo	me ¹	savatra	savam	kala[m]	(G)	eva	anapita[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	paṭivedetaviye	me	savratra	savra	kala	(G)	evam	anapita
<i>Dhau.</i>	paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e]	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G)	heva[m] me
<i>Ḥau.</i>	paṭivedetaviye	me	ti	savata	savam	kālam	(G)	hevam me

¹ The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) *savatra cha aṭham janasa karomi a[ham]* (F) *yam cha kichi mukhato anapemi aham dapaka[m] va śravaka va ye va pana maha-*

<i>Gir.</i>	āñapitaṃ	(H)	nāsti	hi	me	to[s]o	uṣṭānamhi	atha-saṃtīraṇāya	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	m[a]mayā	(H)	nathi	hi	me	dose	uṭhān[a]sā	aṭha-saṃtil[a]nāye	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	maya	(H)	[na]sti	hi	me	tosho	uṭhanas[i]	aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇāye	[cha]
<i>Mān.</i>	maya	(H)	nasti	hi	me	toshe	[uṭhanasi]	ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇāye	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	anusathe	(H)	nath[i]	hi	m]e	[tos]e	uṭhāna]si	aṭha-saṃtilanāya	cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	anusathe	(H)	nathi	hi	me	tose	uṭhānasi	aṭha-saṃtilan[ā]y[a]	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	(I)	katavya-mate	hi	me	sa[rva]-loka-hitam	(Ḥ)	tasa	cha	puna
<i>Kāl.</i>	(I)	kaṭ[a]viya-mute	hi	me	s[a]va-loka-hi[te]	(Ḥ)	t[asā]	ch]ā	[p]u[n]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(I)	kaṭava-mataṃ	hi	me	sava-loka-hitam	(Ḥ)	ta[sa]	cha]	
<i>Mān.</i>	(I)	kaṭaviya-mate	hi	me	savra-loka-h[i]te	(Ḥ)	[ta]sa	chu	puna
<i>Dhau.</i>	(I)	kaṭaviya-m[at]e	hi	me	sava-loka-hite	(Ḥ)	tasa	cha	pana
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(I)	. . . . .		me	sava-loka-hite	(Ḥ)	tasa	cha	pana

<i>Gir.</i>	esa	mūle	uṣṭānam	cha	atha-saṃtīraṇā	cha	(K)	nāsti	hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	es[e]	mule	uṭh[āne]		[a]ṭha-saṃtilanā	chā	(K)	[na]thi	hi
<i>Shāh.</i>	mulam	etra	uthanam		aṭha-saṃtiraṇa	cha	(K)	na[sti]	hi
<i>Mān.</i>	eshe	mule	uṭhane		athra-satiraṇa	cha	(K)	nasti	hi
<i>Dhau.</i>	iyam	mūle	[u]ṭhān[e]	cha	a]ṭha-saṃtil[a]n[ā]	cha	(K)	nathi	hi
<i>Ḥau.</i>	iyam	mūle	uṭhāne	cha	aṭha-saṃtilanā	cha	(K)	nathi	hi

<i>Gir.</i>	kaṃmataram	sarva-loka-hitatpā	(L)	ya	cha	kimchi	parākramāmi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kaṃ[ma]talā	sava-lo[ka]-hitenā	(L)	yam	cha	kichhi	palakamāmi
<i>Shāh.</i>	k[r]amatarā[m]	sava-loka-hite[na]	(L)	yam	cha	kichi	parak[r]amami
<i>Mān.</i>	kramatara	savra-loka-hitena	(L)	ya[m]	cha	[kichhi]	pa[rakra]mami
<i>Dhau.</i>	kaṃmata . .	[sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena	(L)	[am]	ch[a]	kichhi]	p[a]lakamāmi
<i>Ḥau.</i>	k[am]matalā	sava-loka-hiten[a]	(L)	am	cha	kichhi	p[a]lakamāmi

<i>Gir.</i>	aham	kimti	bhūtānam	ānamṇam	gachheyam	idha	cha	nāni
<i>Kāl.</i>	hakam	kiti	bhutānam	[a]naniyam	ye[ham]	hi]da	cha	[kā]ni
<i>Shāh.</i>		kiti	bhutanam	anaṇiyam	v[r]acheyam	ia	cha	sha
<i>Mān.</i>	aam	k[i]t[i]	bh[u]tanam	aṇaniyam	ye[ham]	ia	cha	she
<i>Dhau.</i>	hakam	kimti	bhūtānam	ā[na]niyam	yeha[m]	ti [h]i[da]	cha	[k]ān[i]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	hakam	. . . . .		[n]iyam	yeham	ti hida	cha	kāni

<i>Gir.</i>	sukhāpayāmi	paratrā	cha	svagam	ārādhayaṃtu	(M)	ta ¹
<i>Kāl.</i>	sukhāyāmi	palata	chā	svagam	ālādhayitu	(M)	s[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagram	aradhetu	(M)	
<i>Mān.</i>	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagra	a[ra]dhetu	ti	(M) se
<i>Dhau.</i>	sukhāyāmi	pal[a]ta	cha	svag[am]	ālādhayaṃtū	ti	(M)
<i>Ḥau.</i>	su[kha]yāmi	palata	cha	svagam	ālādhayaṃtū	ti	(M)

matranam achay[k]am aropita[m] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[m]tam nijati va parishaye
anamantariyena paṭivedetavo me.

¹ On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M)
Now, for the following purpose', &c.

<i>Gir.</i>	etāya	athāya	ayaṁ	dha[r̥]ma-lipī	lekhāpitā	kimti	chiraṁ	tisteya
<i>Kāl.</i>	etā[y]eṭhāye		iyam	dhama-lipī	lekhitā	chila-ṭhitikyā		hotu
<i>Shāh.</i>	etaye	aṭhaye	ayi	dhrama	nipista	chira-ṭhitika		bhotu
<i>Mān.</i>	etaye	athraye	iyam	dhrama-dipī	likhita	chira-ṭhitika		hotu
<i>Dhau.</i>	et[ā]y[e]	aṭhāye	i[yam]	dhamma-lipī	likhitā	ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā		hotu
<i>Ṣau.</i>	etāye	aṭhāye	i[ya]m	dhamma-lipī	likhitā	chila-ṭhitika		hotu

<i>Gir.</i>	iti	tathā	cha	me	putrā	potā	cha	prapotrā	cha	anuvataṛam
<i>Kāl.</i>		tathā	cha	me	puta-dāle					palakamātu
<i>Shāh.</i>		tatha	cha	me	putra	nataro				parakramamtu
<i>Mān.</i>		ta[tha]	cha]	me	pu[tra]	nata]re				para[kra]mate
<i>Dhau.</i>		ta[th]ā	cha		putā			papotā	me	palakama[m̐]t[ū]
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[t]ā	me	[pa]lakamamtu

<i>Gir.</i>	sava-loka-hitāya	(N)	dukaram	[t]u			idam	añatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	sava-loka-hitā[ye]	(N)	dukale	ch[u]			iyam	anat[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	sava-lo[ka-hita]ye	(N)	[du]kara	tu	[kh]o		imam	añat[r]a
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye	(N)	dukare	cha	kho			[a]ñatra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[sava-loka]-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu			iyam	amnat[a]
<i>Ṣau.</i>	sava-loka-hitāye	(N)	dukale	chu			i[ya]m	amnata

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parākramena
<i>Kāl.</i>	agenā	palakam[e]nā
<i>Shāh.</i>	agre	parakramena
<i>Mān.</i>	a[g]rena	para[kra]mena
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[g]en[a]	pa]lakamena
<i>Ṣau.</i>	agena	palakamena



SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānampiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	sarvata	ichhati	save	pāsamḍā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lājā	[savat]ā	[i]chhati	sava-[pāsa]mḍa	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanampiyo	Priyaśi	raja	savatra	ichhati	savra-[p]rashamḍa	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanapiyo	Priyadraśi	raja	savratra	ichhati	savra-pashadā	
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[D]evānam[p]iye	Piy[a]dasi	lājā	savata	ichhat[i]	sava-p]āsam[ḍā]	
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(A)	. . . . .	da[sī]	lājā	savata	ichhati	sava-p[ā]samḍā	

<i>Gir.</i>	vaseyu		(B) save	te	sayamam	cha	bhāva-sudhim
<i>Kāl.</i>	vas[e]vu		(B) [sa]ve	hi	te	sayama[m̐]	bhāva-sudhi
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaseyu		(B) save	hi	te	sayame	bhava-sudhi
<i>Mān.</i>	vaseyu		(B) savre	hi	te	sa[ya]ma	[bha]va-śu[dh]i
<i>Dhau.</i>	[va]sevū	ti	(B) save	h[i]	t[e]	sa[yama]m	[bh]āv[a]-sudhī
<i>Ṣau.</i>	va[s]e . .	[t]i	(B) [sav]e	hi	te	sa[yama]m	bhāva-[su]dhī

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	ichhati	(C)	jano	tu	uchāvacha-chhamdo
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	ichhamti	(C)	jane	[ch]u	uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	jano	chu	uchavucha-chhamdo
<i>Mān.</i>	[cha	ichham]ti	(C)	jane	chu	uchavucha-chhade
<i>Dhau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	mun[i]sā	ch[a	u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā
<i>Ṣau.</i>	cha	ichhamti	(C)	munisā	cha	uchāvucha-chhamdā

<i>Gir.</i>	uchāvacha-rāgo	(D)	te sarvaṃ va kāsanti	eka-desarṃ	va	kasa[r̥]ti.
<i>Kāl.</i>	uchāvucha-lā[g]e	(D)	te savarṃ	eka-des[a]rṃ	pi	k[a]chham̐[t̥]i
<i>Shāh.</i>	uchavucha-rago	(D)	te savraṃ va	eka-deśarṃ	va pi	kashanti
<i>Mān.</i>	uchavucha-rage	(D)	te savraṃ	eka-deśarṃ	va pi	kashati
<i>Dhau.</i>	uchāvucha-lāgā	(D)	te savarṃ vā	ek[a]-de[sarṃ	va	kachham̐]ti
<i>Ṣau.</i>	uchāvuch[a]-lāgā	(D)	. . . . .	[sa]rṃ	va	kachham̐ti

<i>Gir.</i>	(E) vip[ul]e	tu	pi	dāne	yasa	nāsti	sayame	bhāva-sudhitā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dān[e]	asā	nathi	sayame	bhā[va]-sudh[i]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(E) vipule	pi	chu	dane	yasa	nasti	sayama	bhava-śudhi
<i>Mān.</i>	(E) [v]ipule	pi	ch[u]	dane	yasa	nasti	sayeme	bhava-śuti
<i>Dhau.</i>	(E) vipul[e]	pi	chā	dāne	asa	n[athi	sa]yame	[bh]āva-sudhī
<i>Ṣau.</i>	(E) [v]i[pul]e	[p]i	chā	[d]ā[ne]	.	.	.	[dhī]

<i>Gir.</i>	va	katamñātā	va	daḍha-bhati[t̥]ā	cha	nichā	bādham̐
<i>Kāl.</i>		kiṭanāt[ā		d̥iḍha-bhatitā	chā	ni[che]	bādham̐
<i>Shāh.</i>		kiṭrañata		driḍha-bhatita		niche	paḍham̐
<i>Mān.</i>		kiṭanata		driḍha-bhatita	cha	niche	bādham̐
<i>Dhau.</i>					cha	niche	bādham̐
<i>Ṣau.</i>					cha	niche	[b]ādham̐

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) atikātaṃ	am̐taraṃ	rājāno	vihāra-yātāṃ	
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) atikaṃtaṃ	a[r̥]taraṃ	Devānaṃpiyā	[vihāla-yātāṃ	nāma]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) atikrataṃ	ataraṃ	Devanaṃpriya	vihara-yatra	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) a[ti]krataṃ	ataraṃ	Devanapri[ya]	vihara-yatra	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) [atika]r̥[ta]r̥	am̐t[ala]r̥	lāj[ā]n[e]	v[i]h[ā]la-yātāṃ	nāma
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	ñayāsu	(B) eta	magavyā	añāni	cha	etārisani
<i>Kāl.</i>	nikhamisu	(B) hidā	migaviyā	añnāni	chā	heḍisānā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nikramishu	(B) atra	mrugaya	añani	cha	edisāni
<i>Mān.</i>	nikramishu	(B) ia	mrigaviya	añani	cha	edisāni
<i>Dhau.</i>	[n]i[kha]m̐[i]s[u]	(B) . . [ta	miga]viy[ā]	a[r̥]nāni	ch[a]	edisāni
<i>Ṣau.</i>	.	.	[v]i[y]ā	[a]r̥nāni	cha	e[d]i
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	abhīramakāni	ahum̐su	(C) so	Devānaṃpriyo	Piyadasi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	abhilāmān[i]	husu	(C)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	abhiramani	abhuvasu	(C) so	Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	
<i>Mān.</i>	abhiramani	husu	(C) s[e]	Devanap[r̥]iy[e]	P[r̥]iyadraśi	
<i>Dhau.</i>	a[bh]i[l̥]āmāni	huvaṃti	naṃ	(C) se	Devānaṃpiye	P[i]y[a]dasi
<i>Ṣau.</i>[m̐]āni	huvaṃti	naṃ	(C) se	Devānaṃpiye	[Piya]
<i>Sōp.</i>

<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	dasa-varsābhisito	saṁto	ayāya	Saṁbodhim	(D) tenesā
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	das[a]-vasābhisite	saṁtaṁ	nikhamithā	Saṁbodhi	(D) tenatā
<i>Shāh.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisito	sataṁ	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	daśa-vashabhisite	saṁta[m]	nikrami	Sabodhi	(D) tenada
<i>Dhau.</i>	lājā	d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisit[e]		[n]ikhami	Saṁbodh[i]	(D) [t]e[n]atā
<i>Fau.</i>	....	[dasa]				
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	nikhamitha	Sa	.

<i>Gir.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) etayaṁ	hoti	bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ	dasane	
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-yātā	(E) [h]etā	iyam	hoti	samana-bāmbhanānaṁ	dasane
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramma-yatra	(E) atra	iyam	hoti	śramaṇa-bramaṇanaṁ	draśane
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-yada	(E) atra	iya	hoti	śamaṇa-bramaṇana	dra[śa]ne
<i>Dhau.</i>	dha[m]ma-yātā	(E) [tat]esa	[ho]ti	samana-bābhanānaṁ	d[a]s[a]n[e]	
<i>Fau.</i>	. . . . [tā]	(E) [ta]tesa	hoti	[sa]	
<i>Sōp.</i>	. . . . .	(E) heta	iyam	[ho]ti	baṁ[bha]	. . . .

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	thairānaṁ	dasane	ch[a]	hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāno	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	chā	dāne	cha	vudh[ā]naṁ	dasa[n]e	ch[a]	hilaṁṇa-paṭi[v]īdhāne	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		danam		vuḍhana[m]	daśana		hiraṇa-p[r]aṭivīdhane	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		dane	cha	vudhrana	dra[śa]ne	[cha]	hi[ṇ]a-paṭivī[dhane]	cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>	ch[a]	d[āne]	cha	v[u]dhānaṁ	dasane	cha	h[i]lāṁṇa-p[a]ṭivīdhāne	cha]
<i>Fau.</i>	cha	dāne	cha	vuḍhānaṁ	dasane	cha	hilaṁṇa-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne	[cha]
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	vuḍhānaṁ	dasane	[cha]	hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāne	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	jānapadasa	cha	janasa	daspanam		dhammānus[a]stī	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	[jā]napadasā		[ja]n[a]sā	das[a]ne		dhammanusathi	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	[jana]padasa		janasa	draśana		dhramanuśasti	
<i>Mān.</i>	janapadasa		janasa	draśane		dhramanuśasti	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	[jāna]padasa		janasa	[dasa]ne	cha	dhammānu[sath]i	[cha]
<i>Fau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Sōp.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[dha*]mmānusa[thi]	.

<i>Gir.</i>	dhama-paripucchā	cha	tadopayā	(F) esā	bhuya	rati
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhama-palipucchā	chā	tatopa[yā]	(F) [e]se	bh[u]ye	lāti
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha	cha	tatopayaṁ	(F) eshe	bhuy[e]	ra]ti
<i>Mān.</i>	dhrama-[pa]r[i]pucchha	cha	tatopaya	(F) eshe	bhuye	rati
<i>Dhau.</i>	..... [p]u[chh]ā	cha	[ta]d[o]payā	(F) e[sā]	bhuy[e]	abhilāme
<i>Fau.</i>	[dha]mma-p[al]i[pucch]ā	.	.	.	.	ilāme
<i>Sōp.</i>	dhamma	.	.	.	ye	[ra]ti

<i>Gir.</i>	bhavati	Devānaṁpiyasa	Priyadasino	rāño	bhā[g]e	amñe
<i>Kāl.</i>	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasā	Piyadas[i]sā	lājine	bh[ā]g[e]	amne
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhoti	Devanaṁpriyasa	Priyadraśisa	raño	bhago	amñi
<i>Mān.</i>	hoti	Devanapriyasa	Priyadraśisa	rajine	bhage	aṇe
<i>Dhau.</i>	hoti	Devānaṁpiyasa	Piyada[s]ine	lājine	bhāge	[am]ne
<i>Fau.</i>	hoti	De[v]ānaṁpiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine	bhāge	[a] . . .
<i>Sōp.</i>	hoti	De	.	n[e]	bhāge	am .

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānāmpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	eva	āha	(B)	asti	jano
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devānāmpiye	Piy[a]da[s]i	lā[jā]		āhā	(B)		jan[e]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanāmpiyo	Priyadraśi	r[a]ya	evam	ahati	(B)		jano
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	Devanāpriye	Priyadraśi	raja	evam	aha	(B)		jane
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	Devānāmpiye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevam	āhā	(B)	[athi]	ja]ne
<i>Fau.</i>	(A)	Devān[am]piye	Piyadasī	lā[jā]					

<i>Gir.</i>	uchāvacham	maṅgalaṁ	karote	ābādhesu	vā	āvāha-vivāhesu		
<i>Kāl.</i>	uch[āv]ucham	maṅgalaṁ	ka[l]eti	ābādhasi		av[āha]si vivāhasi		
<i>Shāh.</i>	uchavucham	maṅgalaṁ	karoti	abadhe		avahe vivahe		
<i>Mān.</i>	uchavucha[m]	ma]gala[m]	karoti	abadhasi		a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi		
<i>Dhau.</i>	uchāvucham	maṅgalaṁ	kal[e]ti	[āb]ādha		[v]i[vāha]..		
<i>Fau.</i>								

<i>Gir.</i>	vā	putra-lābhesu	vā	pravāsamhi	vā	etamhī	cha	añamhi	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>		pajopadāne		pavāsasi		e[tā]ye		añnāye	chā
<i>Shāh.</i>		pajupadane		pravase		ataye		añaye	cha
<i>Mān.</i>		prajopadaye		pravasapi		etaye		añaye	[cha]
<i>Dhau.</i>		. . [ju]padāye		pavās[a]si		etāye		añnāye	ch[a]
<i>Fau.</i>		[pa]jupadāye		pavāsasi		etāye		añnāye	cha

<i>Gir.</i>		jano	uchāvacham	maṅgalaṁ	karote	(C)	eta	tu
<i>Kāl.</i>	edisāye	jane	bahu	magala[m]	k[a]leti	(C)	heta	[ch]u
<i>Shāh.</i>	ediśiy[e]	jano	ba	maṅgalaṁ	karoti	(C)	atra	tu
<i>Mān.</i>	[ed]iśa[ye]	jane]	bahu	maṅga[la]m	ka]ro[t]i	(C)	atra	tu
<i>Dhau.</i>	hedisāye	j[a]n[e]	bahukam	maṅgalaṁ	k[a]....	(C)....		[chu]
<i>Fau.</i>	hedisāye	jane	[ba]hu[ka]m					

<i>Gir.</i>	mahidāyo	bahukam	cha	bahuvidham	cha	chhudam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	abaka-jani[yo]	bahu	chā	bahuvidham	chā	khudā	[ch]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>	striyaka	bahu	cha	bahuvidham	cha	putika	cha
<i>Mān.</i>	abaka-janika	bahu	cha	bahuvidha	cha	khuda	cha
<i>Dhau.</i>	ithī	b[ahuka]m	cha	[ba]hu[v]idh[am]	ch[a]	kh]ud[am]	cha]
<i>Fau.</i>							

<i>Gir.</i>	nirath[am]	cha	maṅgalaṁ	karote	(D)	ta	katavyameva	tu
<i>Kāl.</i>	nilathiyā	chā	magalaṁ	ka[la]nti	(D)	se	kaṭavi cheva	kho
<i>Shāh.</i>	nirathiyam	cha	maṅgalaṁ	karo[ti]	(D)	so	kaṭavo cha [va]	kho
<i>Mān.</i>	nirathriya	cha	magalaṁ	karoti	(D)	se	ka[ṭaviye ch]eva	kho
<i>Dhau.</i>	[nilaṭhi]yam	cha	maṅgalaṁ	kaleti	(D)	se	kaṭ[a]viye che[va]	kh]o
<i>Fau.</i>		[cha	ma]m[gala]m	k[a]leti	(D)	se	kaṭaviye cheva	kho

<i>Gir.</i>	magalaṁ	(E)	apa-phalaṁ	tu	kho	etarisam	maṅgalaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	maṅgale	(E)	apa-phale	[ch]u	kho	[e]s[e]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	maṅgala	(E)	apa-phala[m]	tu	kho	eta	
<i>Mān.</i>	magale	(E)	apa-phale	chu	[kho	e]she	
<i>Dhau.</i>	m[a]ṅgale	(E)	[a]pa-phale	chu	kho	esa	h[e]dise maṁ[ga]..
<i>Fau.</i>	maṅgale	(E)	apa-[pha]le	chu	[kh]o	e[sa]	he[d]ise ma

<i>Gir.</i>	(F)	ayaṃ	tu	mah[ā]-phale	maṃgale	ya	dhamma-maṃgale
<i>Kāl.</i>	(F)	[i]yaṃ	chu	kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le		ye	dhamma-magale
<i>Shāh.</i>	(F)	imaṃ	[t]u	kho maha-phala		ye	ma-maṃgala
<i>Mān.</i>	(F)	iyaṃ	chu	kho maha-phale		ye	dhrama-magale
<i>Dhau.</i>	(F)	[ya]ṃ	[ch]u	kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le		e	[dha]ṃma-maṃgale
<i>Ḥau.</i>	(F)	i[ya]ṃ	[chu]	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(G)	ta[te]ta	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-pratipatī	gurūnaṃ	apachiti
<i>Kāl.</i>	(G)	he[tā]	iyam	dāsa-bhaṭakasi	s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti	gulunā apachiti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(G)	[a]tra	ima	dasa-bhaṭakasa	samma-paṭipati	garuna apachiti
<i>Mān.</i>	(G)	atra	iyam	dasa-bhaṭakasi	samya-paṭipati	guruna a[pachit]i
<i>Dhau.</i>	(G)	[ta]te[sa]	d[ā]sa-bhaṭakas[i]	saṃmyā-paṭipat[i]	gulūnaṃ	a[pa]....
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	[sa-bha]ṭakasi	saṃmyā-paṭipati	gulūnaṃ	apachiti

<i>Gir.</i>	sādhū	pāṇesu	sayamo	sādhū	bamhaṇa-samaṇānaṃ	sādhū
<i>Kāl.</i>		[p]ā[n]ān[am]	saṃyame		s[a]man[a]-bamhanānaṃ	
<i>Shāh.</i>		praṇanaṃ	sa[m]yamo		śamaṇa-bramaṇana	
<i>Mān.</i>		pra[ṇa]na	[sa]yame		śramaṇa-bramaṇana	
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	[me]		samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pānesu		say[a]me		saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[naṃ]	

<i>Gir.</i>	dānaṃ	et[a]	cha	añ[a]	cha	etārisaṃ	dhamma-maṃgalaṃ	nāma
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāne	ese		aṃne	chā	heḍise	dhamma-magale	nāmā
<i>Shāh.</i>	dana	etaṃ		añam	cha		dhrama-maṃga[laṃ]	nama
<i>Mān.</i>	[dane]	eshe		aṇe	cha	ediṣe	dhrama-magale	nama
<i>Dhau.</i>	dāne	esa		aṃne	ch[a]	.....	[dhamma]-maṃga[le]	nāma
<i>Ḥau.</i>	[d]ā[n]e	[esa]		a[m]n[e]	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(H)	ta	vataṃ	pitā	va	putena	vā bhātrā	vā svāmikena
<i>Kāl.</i>	(H)	se	vata[v]iye	pitinā	pi	putena	pi bh[ā]tinā	pi suvāmiken[a]
<i>Shāh.</i>	(H)	[s]o	vataṃ	pituna	pi	putrena	pi bhratana	pi spamik[e]na
<i>Mān.</i>	(H)	se	vataṃ	pituna	pi	putrena	pi bhratana	pi spamikena
<i>Dhau.</i>	(H)	[se]	vata[vi]ye	p[iti]nā	pi	pute[na]	pi bhātinā	pi suvāmike[na]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	[pi]tinā	pi	putena	pi bhātinā	pi suvāmike[na]

<i>Gir.</i>	vā						idaṃ	sādhū	idaṃ
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	mita-samthuten[ā]	ava	paṭivesiyenā	[p]i	iyam	sādhū	iyam	
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	mitra-sastutena	ava	pratīveśiyena		imaṃ	sadhu	[imaṃ]	
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	mitra-sa[m]stutena	[a]va	paṭīveśiyena	pi	iyam	sadhu	iyam	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[p]i					.	.	.	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	pi					iyam	sādhū	iyam	

<i>Gir.</i>	katavya	maṃgalaṃ	āva	tasa	athasa	niṣṭānāya	(I) asti
<i>Kāl.</i>	kaṭaviye	[ma]g[a]le	āva	[ta]sā	athas ā	ni[v]utiyā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	kaṭa[vo]	maṃgala[m]	yava	tasa	aṭhrasa	nivutīya	nivutaṣpi
<i>Mān.</i>	kaṭaviye	magale	ava	tasa	athrasa	nivutīya	nivutaṣi
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	[l]e	[ā]va	tasa	aṭhas[a]	niphatiy[ā]	(I) [a]thi
<i>Ḥau.</i>	kaṭaviye	.	.	.	.	.	.

Gir. cha pi vutaṃ sādhu dana iti (Ḥ) na tu etārisaṃ astā
Kāl. imaṃ kachhāmi ti (Ḥ) e hi i[ta]le magale
Shāh. va p[u]na imaṃ kashaṃ (Ḥ) ye hi etake magale
Mān. va puna ima [ka]shami ti (Ḥ) e hi [i]tare maga[le]
Dhau. [cha heva]m v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (Ḥ) [s]e [na]thi
Ḥau. [s]e

Gir. dānaṃ va ana[ga]ho va yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ va dhamanugaho va
Kāl. sa[m]sayikye se (Ḥ) siyā va taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no
Shāh. saṣayike taṃ (Ḥ) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna no
Mān. śa[śa]yike se (Ḥ) s[i]ya va taṃ athraṃ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no
Dhau. [anu]ga[h]e v[ā] ād[i]se dha[m]ma-dāne dham[mānugahe] . .
Ḥau. dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha

Gir. (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhodayena [v]ā ñatikena va sahāyana va
Kāl. (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se (L) iyaṃ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e]
Shāh. (K) ialoka cha vo taṃ (L) ida puna dhrama-magalaṃ akalikaṃ
Mān. (K) hida[o]kike cheva se (L) iyaṃ puna dhrama-magale akalike
Dhau. (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i
Ḥau. (K) se chu kho mitena

Gir. ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]daṃ kachaṃ idaṃ sādha iti
Kāl. (M) haṃche pi taṃ aṭhaṃ no niṭeti hida aṭhaṃ palata anantaṃ
Shāh. (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e] ia atha paratra anantaṃ
Mān. (M) [ha]che pi taṃ athraṃ no nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata
Dhau. viyovadita i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]m
Ḥau. yaṃ sād[h]ū

Gir. iminā sak[a] svagaṃ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataraṃ
Kāl. punā pavasati (N) haṃche puna taṃ aṭhaṃ nivateti hida tato
Shāh. puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeti tato
Mān. puṇa prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athraṃ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato
Dhau. [l]ādhayitave (L) ṭa[v]
Ḥau. imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi imena kaṭaviyatalā

Gir. yathā svagāradhī
Kāl. ubhaye[sa]m ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anantaṃ
Shāh. u[bha]y[e]sa ladhaṃ bhoti ia cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ
Mān. ubhayesaṃ [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata
Dhau. [svagasa] āl[adh]i
Ḥau.

Kāl. punā pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]
Shāh. puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṃgalena
Mān. puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramagalena

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiyo	Priyadasi	rājā	yasō	va	kīti	va	na
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	Devā[naṃ]piye	Piy[a]dashā	lājā	y[a]sho	vā	kiti	vā	no
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo	va	kiṭri	va	no
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	[Devana]priye	Priyadraśi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va	no
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devānaṃ]piye	Piyad[a]s[i]	lājā	yasō	vā	[k]iṭi	vā	n.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	mahāthāvah[ā]	mañate	añata						
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ma]hathāvā	manati	an[a]tā	[ya]m	pi	yasō	vā	ki[t]i	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	mahaṭhāvaha	mañati	añatra	yo	pi	yaśo		kiṭri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	mahathravaham	mañati	añatra	yam	pi	ya[śo va]		kiṭi	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	..... [ha]m	man[ate]			i	[yasō]	vā	k[iṭ]i	[v]ā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ya]so	vā	ki[t]i	vā

<i>Gir.</i>		tadātpano	dighāya	cha	me	[ja]no	dhamma-susru[m]sā		
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichh[at]i	tadatvāye	ayatiye	chā		jane	dhamma-susushā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha		jane	dhrama-suśrasha		
<i>Mān.</i>	ichhati	tadatvaye	ayatiya	cha		jane	[dhra]ma-suśrusha		
<i>Dhau.</i>	ichhati	tadatvāye	[ā]			[ja]ne		[sūsa]m	
<i>Ṭau.</i>	ichh[a]ti	tadatvāye	ā[ya]tiye	cha		jane	dhamma-susūsam		

<i>Gir.</i>	susrusatā		dhamma-vutam	cha		anuvīdhiyatām			
<i>Kāl.</i>	susushātu	me	ti	dhamma-vatam	vā	anuvī[dh]iya[m]tu	ti		
<i>Shāh.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhramma-vutam	cha	anuvī[dhi]yatu			
<i>Mān.</i>	suśrushatu	me	ti	dhrama-[vutam	cha]	anuvīdhiyatu		ti	
<i>Dhau.</i>	[susū]s[at]u	[m]e		dhamma					[me]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	susūsatu	me							

<i>Gir.</i>	(B)	etakāya	Devānaṃpiyo	Piyadasi	rājā	yasō	va	kiti	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B)	dhata[k]āye	Devāna[m]piye	Piyadasi	lājā	yasho	vā	kiti	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B)	etakaye	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	raya	yaśo		kiṭri	va
<i>Mān.</i>	(B)	etakaye	Devanapriye	Priya[dra]śi	raja	yaśo	va	kiṭi	va
<i>Dhau.</i>	(B)	etakāye				[yasō vā]		kiṭi	vā
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)	ya[m]	tu	kich[i]	parik[a]mate	Devānaṃ	Priyadasi	
<i>Kāl.</i>	ichha	(C)	am	ch[ā]	kichhi	lakamati	Devanaṃpiye	Piyadashi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ichhati	(C)	ya[m]	tu	kichhi	parakramati	Devanaṃpiyo	Priyadraśi	
<i>Mān.</i>	i[chha]ti	(C)	..	..	[k]ichhi	parak[r]ama[ti]	Devanapriye	Priyadraśi	
<i>Dhau.</i>	i				i	[pa]lakama[t]i	Devānaṃpiye		
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.				.	[t]i	Devānaṃpiye		

<i>Gir.</i>	rājā	ta	savam	pāratrikāya	kiṃti	sakale	a[pa]-parisrave		
<i>Kāl.</i>	lājā	ta	[sha]va	pāramtikyāye	vā	kiti	sakale	apa-p[a]lāshave	
<i>Shāh.</i>	raya	tam	sav[r]am	paratrikaye	va	kiti	sakale	aparisrave	
<i>Mān.</i>	raja	tam	savam	parat[r]ikay[e	va	k[i]ti	sa[kale	apa]-pa[r]isav[e]	
<i>Dhau.</i>				pāl[atik]ā[y]e	..	kiṃti	saka[le	apa-pal]isave	
<i>Ṭau.</i>				pālatikāye	vā	ki[m]ti	[sa]kale	apa-palisave	

<i>Gir.</i>	asa	(D) esa	tu	parisave	ya	apumñam	(E) dukaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	shiyāti	ti	(D) [e]she	chu	palisave	e	apune (E) dukale
<i>Shāh.</i>	siyaṭi	(D) eshe	tu	parisrave	yam	apuñam	(E) dukare
<i>Mān.</i>	siyati	ti	(D) eshe	chu	pa[ri]save	e	apu[ne] (E) dukare
<i>Dhau.</i>	[hu]v[eyā] tji	(D) pa[l]isa	.	.	.	.	(E) [du]ka[le]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	[h]uveyā	ti	(D) .	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	tu	kho	etaṁ	chhudakena	va	janena	usaṭena	va	añatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	vā	vagenā	ushuṭena	vā	ana[ta]
<i>Shāh.</i>	[tu]	kho	eshe	khudrakena		vagrena	usaṭena	va	añatra
<i>Mān.</i>	chu	kho	eshe	khudakena	[va	va]gr[e]na	[u]saṭena	va	ana[tra]
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	.	.	t[a	agena]	.	[na	sa]vaṁ cha
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	agena	parāk[r]amena	savaṁ	parichajitpā	(F) et[a]	t[u]	kho
<i>Kāl.</i>	agen[ā]	pa]lakamenā	śhava[m]	palitiditu	(F) [h]e[ta]	chu	kho
<i>Shāh.</i>	agrena	parakramena	sava[m]	paritijitu	(F) at[r]a	chu	
<i>Mān.</i>	a[gre]na	para[krame]na	sav[raṁ]	pariti[ji]tu	(F) atra	tu	[kho]
<i>Dhau.</i>	paliti[ji][tu]	khudakena	v[ā]	usaṭena	vā	(F)	
<i>Ḥau.</i>	.. [l]itijit[u]	khudakena	[v]ā	u[s]aṭena	vā	(F)	

<i>Gir.</i>	usaṭena	dukaram
<i>Kāl.</i>	[u]shaṭe[na]	vā dukale
<i>Shāh.</i>	usaṭe	.
<i>Mān.</i>	usaṭeneva	du[ka]re
<i>Dhau.</i>	u[s]aṭena]	chu [dukalatale]
<i>Ḥau.</i>	usaṭena	chu dukaletale

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devinaṁpriyo	Piyadasi	rājā	ev[a]m āha	(B) nāsti	etārisaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) Devānaṁp[i]ye	Piyadashi	[i]ājā	hevaṁ hā	(B) nathi	h[e]dishe
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devana[m]priyo	Priyadraśi	raya	evaṁ hahati	(B) nasti	ed[i]śaṁ
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapri[y]e	Priyadraśi	raja	evaṁ aha	(B) nasti	ediśe

<i>Gir.</i>	dānaṁ	yārisaṁ	dhamma-dānaṁ	dhamma-saṁstavo	vā	dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāne	adisha	dha[m]ma-dāne			dhama-
<i>Shāh.</i>	danam	yadiśaṁ	dhrama-dana	dhrama-saṁstav[e]		dh[r]ama-
<i>Mān.</i>	dane	[a]diśe	dhrama-dane	dhrama-saṁtha[v]e		dhrama-

<i>Gir.</i>	saṁvibhāgo	[vā]	dhamma-saṁbadho	va	(C) tata	idaṁ bhavati
<i>Kāl.</i>	shav[i]bhage		dhamma-shaṁbadh[e]		(C) ta[ta]	eshe
<i>Shāh.</i>	saṁvibhago		dh[r]ama-saṁba[m]dha		(C) tatra	etaṁ
<i>Mān.</i>	saṁvibhaga		dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]		(C) tatra	eshe

<i>Gir.</i>	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-p[r]atipati	mātari pitarā	sādhu	sus[r]usā
<i>Kāl.</i>	dāsha-bhaṭakashī	shamyā-paṭipati	mātā-pitishu		shushushā
<i>Shāh.</i>	dasa-bhaṭakanam	samma-paṭipati	mata-pitushu		suśrusha
<i>Mān.</i>	dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si	samya-paṭipati	mata-[pitu]shu		su[śru]sha

<i>Gir.</i>	mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ	bāhmaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṃ]	sādhu	dā[naṃ]
<i>Kāl.</i>	mita-shamthuta-nātikyānaṃ	samanā-[ba]mbhanānā		[dā]ne
<i>Shāh.</i>	mi[t]ra-samstuta-ñātikanaṃ	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dana
<i>Mān.</i>	mitra-sam[stuta]-ñātikana	śramaṇa-bramaṇana		dan[e]

<i>Gir.</i>	prāṇānaṃ	anāraṃbho	sādhu	(D) eta	vatavyaṃ	pitā	va	putrena
<i>Kāl.</i>	pānānaṃ	anāl[am]bhe		(D) eshe	vata[v]iye	pi[t]inā	pi	pute[na]
<i>Shāh.</i>	praṇana	anara[m]bho		(D) etaṃ	vatavo	pituna	pi	putrena
<i>Mān.</i>	praṇana	[ana]rabhe		(D) [e]she	vataviye	pituna	pi	putrena

<i>Gir.</i>	va	bhāt[ā]	va	mita-sastut[ā]-ñāt[i]k[e]na			va	āva
<i>Kāl.</i>	pi	bhāt[t]inā	pi	sh[a]vām[i]kyena	pi	mita-śamthutānā		avā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	[spa]mikenā	pi	mitra-samstutana		ava
<i>Mān.</i>	pi	bhratuna	pi	spamike[na]	pi	mitra-sam[stu]t[e]na		ava

<i>Gir.</i>	paṭivesiyehi	ida	sādhu	ida	ka[tav]ya[m]	(E) so	t[a]thā
<i>Kāl.</i>	p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]	iy[a]m	shādhu	iyam	kaṭaviye	(E) [ś]e	tathā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pratīveśiyena	[i]ma[m]	sadhu	imam	kaṭavo	(E) so	tatha
<i>Mān.</i>	paṭīveśiyena	iyam	sa[dhu]	iyam	kaṭaviye	(E) se	tatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karu	ilokachasa	ārādho hoti	parata	cha	amnamtaṃ
<i>Kāl.</i>	kala[m]ta	hidaloikikye	cha kaṃ āladhe hoti	palata	ch[ā]	anata
<i>Shāh.</i>	karata[m]	ialoka	cha a[ra]dheti	paratra	cha	anataṃ
<i>Mān.</i>	karata[m]	hi[dalo]ke	[cha] kaṃ aradhe ho[ti]	pa[ra]tra	cha	ana[m]taṃ

<i>Gir.</i>	puiṇam	bhavati	tena	dhamma-dānena
<i>Kāl.</i>	punā	paśavati	tenā	dhamma-dānenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	puṇa	prasavati	[te]na	dhrama-danena
<i>Mān.</i>	puṇam	p[r]asavati	te[na]	dhra[ma]-danena.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) Devānaṃpiye	Piyad[a]si	rājā	sava-pāsaṃdāni	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) [D]evānāpiye	[P]iyadash[i]	lājā	shāvā-pāshaṃ[dān]i	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) Devanaṃpriyo	Priyadraśi	raya	savra-prashaṃdani	
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) Devanapiye	Priyadraśi	raja	savra-pashaḍani	

<i>Gir.</i>	[pa]vajitāni	cha	gharastāni	cha	pūjayati	d[ā]nena	cha	vivādhāya
<i>Kāl.</i>	pav[a]jitā[n]i		gahathāni	vā	pujeti	dānena		vividh[aye]
<i>Shāh.</i>	pravrajita[ni]		grahathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye
<i>Mān.</i>	[p]rava[ji]tani		gehathani	cha	pujeti	danena		vividhaye

<i>Gir.</i>	[cha]	pūjāya	pūjayati ne	(B) na	tu	tathā	dānaṃ	va	pū[jā]
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	puj[ā]ye		(B) n[o]	ch[u]	tathā	dāne	vā	pujā
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	pujaye		(B) no	chu	tatha	[da]na	va	puja
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	pujaye		(B) no	chu	tatha	dana	va	puja

<i>Gir.</i>	va	D[e]vānaṃpiyo	maññate	yathā	kiti	sāra-vaḍhi	asa
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	Devāna[m]piye	m[a]nati	athā	k[i]ta	ś[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi	siyaṃ
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	Devanaṃpriyo	mañati	yatha	kiti	sa[la]-vaḍhi	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	va	[De]vana[m]priye	mañati	atha	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	sa[va-pā]saṃdānam	(C)	sār[a]-vaḍhi	tu	bahuvidhā	(D)	tasa	tu	idam
<i>Kāl.</i>	ś[a]va-pāśaḍāna	(C)	śālā-vaḍhi	nā	bahuvidhā	(D)	taśa	chu	imam
<i>Shāh.</i>	savra-prashaṃḍanam	(C)	sala-vaḍhi	tu	bahuvidha	(D)	tasa	tu	iyō
<i>Mān.</i>	savra-pashaḍana ti	(C)	sala-vruḍhi	t[u]	bahuvidha	(D)	tasa	chu	iyam

<i>Gir.</i>	mūlam	ya	vachi-guti	kimti	ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-pūjā	va	para-
<i>Kāl.</i>	mule	a	va[cha]-guti	kiti	t[i] ata-paśaḍa-[v]ā puja	vā	pala-
<i>Shāh.</i>	mula	yam	vacha-guti	kiti	ata-prashaṃḍa-puja	va	pa[ra]-
<i>Mān.</i>	mule	am	vacha-guti	kiti	ata-prashaḍa-puja	va	para-

<i>Gir.</i>	pāsaṃḍa-garahā	va	no	bhave	aprakaraṇamhi	lahuka	va	ak-
<i>Kāl.</i>	pāsaṃḍa-galahā	va	no	[śa]yā	ap[a]k[a][a]naś[i]	lahakā	vā	siya
<i>Shāh.</i>	pashaṃḍa-garana	va	no	siya	[a]pakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya
<i>Mān.</i>	pashaḍa-garaha	va	no	siya	apakaraṇasi	lahuka	va	siya

<i>Gir.</i>	tamhi	tamhi	prakaraṇe	(E)	pūjetayā	tu	eva	para-pāsaṃḍā
<i>Kāl.</i>	[ta]gi	taśi	pakalan[a]ś[i]	(E)	pujetav[i]ya	chu		p[a]la-pā[śa]ḍā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tasi	tasi	prakara[ṇ]e	(E)	pujetaviya	va	chu	para-prasha[ṃḍa]
<i>Mān.</i>	tasi	tasi	pakaraṇasi	(E)	pujetaviya	va	chu	para-p[r]ashaḍā

<i>Gir.</i>	tena	tana	prakaraṇena	(F)	evam	karuṃ	ātpa-pāsaṃḍam	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	tena	tena	akālana	(F)	heva	kalata	ata-pāśaḍā	badham
<i>Shāh.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	e[v]am	karatam	ata-p[r]ashaṃḍam	
<i>Mān.</i>	tena	tena	akarena	(F)	evam	karatam	atva-pashaḍa	badham

<i>Gir.</i>	vaḍhayati	para-pāsaṃḍasa		cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-amñatha
<i>Kāl.</i>	vaḍhiyati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā	upakaleti	(G)	tadā anatha
<i>Shāh.</i>	vaḍheti	para-prashaṃḍamsa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tada añatha
<i>Mān.</i>	vaḍhayati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha	upakaroti	(G)	tad-amñatha

<i>Gir.</i>	karoto	ātpa-pāsaḍam	cha	chhaṇati	para-pāsaṃḍasa	cha	pi
<i>Kāl.</i>	kalata	ata-pāśaḍa	cha	chhanati	pala-pāśaḍa	pi	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ka[ra]min[o]	ata-p[r]ashaṃḍa		kshaṇati	para-[pra]shaḍasa	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>	karatam	ata-pashaḍa	cha	chhaṇati	para-pashaḍasa	pi	cha

<i>Gir.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kochi	ātpa-pāsaṃḍam	pūjayati	para-pāsaṃḍam
<i>Kāl.</i>	apakaleti	(H)	ye	[h]i	kechha	[a]ta-pāśaḍa	punāti	pala-pāśaḍa
<i>Shāh.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	yo	hi	kachi	ata-prashaḍam	pujeti	[para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m]
<i>Mān.</i>	apakaroti	(H)	ye	hi	kechhi	atva-pashaḍa	pujeti	para-pashaḍa

<i>Gir.</i>	v[a]	garahati	savam	ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-bhatiyā	kimti	ātpa-pāsaṃḍam	
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	ga[la]hati	shave	ata-pāshaṃ[ḍa]-bhatiyā	vā	kiti	ata-pāshaṃḍa
<i>Shāh.</i>		garahati	savre	ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	ata-prashaṃḍam
<i>Mān.</i>	va	garahati	savre	atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya	va	kiti	atva-pashaḍa

<i>Gir.</i>	dipayema	iti so	cha puna	tatha	karāto ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[m]	bāḍhatarām	
<i>Kāl.</i>	[d]ipayema	she	cha punā	tathā	kalamtaṁ	bāḍhatale	up[a]haṁt[i]
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipayami	ti so	cha puna	tatha	karamtaṁ ¹	ba[ḍhata]raṁ	upahamti
<i>Mān.</i>	dipayama	ti . . .	puna	tatha	karataṁ	baḍhatarām	upahamti

<i>Gir.</i>	upahanāti	(I) ta	samavāyo	eva	sādhu	kiṁti	[a]ñamamñasa
<i>Kāl.</i>	ata-pāshaṁḍashi	(I)	shamavāye	vu	shādhu	kiti	añnamanashā
<i>Shāh.</i>	ata-prashaḍaṁ	(I) so	sayamo	vo	sadhu	kiti	añamañasa
<i>Mān.</i>	atva-pasha[ḍa]	(I) se	samavaye	vo	sadhu	ki[ti]	aṇamañasa

<i>Gir.</i>	dhammaṁ	sruṇāru	cha	susumsera	cha	(Ḥ) evaṁ	hi
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhammaṁ	shuṇe[y]u	chā	shushusheyu	chā	ti	(Ḥ) hevaṁ
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramo	śruṇeyu	cha	suśrusheyu	cha	ti	(Ḥ) evaṁ
<i>Mān.</i>	dhramam	śruṇe[y]u	cha]	suśrushe[yu]	cha	ti	(Ḥ) evaṁ

<i>Gir.</i>	D[e]vānaṁpiyasa	ichhā	kiṁti	sava-pāsaṁḍā	bahu-srutā	cha	asu
<i>Kāl.</i>	Devānaṁpiyashā	ichhā	kiṁti	sava-pāshaṁḍa	baha-shutā	chā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanaṁpriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-prashaṁḍa	bahu-śruta	ch[a]	
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriyasa	ichha	kiti	savra-pashaḍa	bahu-śruta	cha	

<i>Gir.</i>	kal[ā]nāgamā	cha	[a]su	(K) ye	cha	tatra	tata	prasaṁnā
<i>Kāl.</i>	kayānāgā	cha	huveyu	ti	(K) e	[cha]	tata	t[a]t[a]
<i>Shāh.</i>	kal[āṇa]gama	cha	siyasu	(K) ye	cha	tatra	tatra	prasana
<i>Mān.</i>	kayaṇagama	cha	[hu]veyu	ti	(K) e	cha	tatra	prasana

<i>Gir.</i>	tehi	vataavyaṁ	(L) Devānaṁpiyo	no	tathā	dānaṁ	va	pūjāṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	te[hi]	va]taviye	(L) Devānāpiye	no	tathā	dānaṁ	vā	pujā
<i>Shāh.</i>	tesha[m]	vataavo	(L) Devanaṁpriy[o]	na	[tathā	da]na[m]	va]	p[u]ja
<i>Mān.</i>	tehi	vataviye	(L) Devanapriye	no	tatha	danaṁ	va	puja[m]

<i>Gir.</i>	va	maṁñate	yathā	kiṁti	sāra-vaḍhī	asa	sarva-pāsaḍānaṁ
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	maṁnat[i]	athā	kiti	sh[ā]lā-v[a]dhi	śiyā	shava-pāshaṁḍatim
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	mañati	ya[tha]	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siyati	savra-prashaḍanaṁ
<i>Mān.</i>	va	maṇati	atha	kiti	sala-vaḍhi	siya	savra-pashaḍa[na]

<i>Gir.</i>	(M) bahakā	cha	etāya	athā	vyāpatā	dhamma-mahāmātā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	(M) bahukā	ch[ā]	etāyāthāye		viyāpatā	dha[m]ma-mahāmātā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	(M) bahuka	cha	etaye	a[tha]	vap[a]ṭa	dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra	
<i>Mān.</i>	(M) [ba]huka	cha	etaye	athraye	vapuṭa	dhrama-mahamatra	

<i>Gir.</i>	ithijhakha-mahāmātā	cha	vacha-bhūmīkā	cha	añe	cha	nikāyā
<i>Kāl.</i>	ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā		vacha-bh[u]mikyā		ane	vā	[n]iky[ā]y[ā]
<i>Shāh.</i>	i[stridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra		[vra]cha-bhumika		añe	cha	nikaye
<i>Mān.</i>	istrijaksha-mahamatra		vracha-bh[u]mika		añe	cha	nikay[e]

¹ The five last words are repeated thus: *so cha puna tatha karataṁ.*

<i>Gir.</i>	(N)	ayam	cha	etasa	phala	ya	ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vaḍhī	cha	hoti
<i>Kāl.</i>	(N)	iyam	cha	etishā	phale	yam	ata-pāshaṃḍa-vaḍhi	chā	hoti
<i>Shāh.</i>	(N)	imam	cha	etisa	[pha]lam	yam	ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi		[bh]o[ti]
<i>Mān.</i>	(N)	iyam	cha	etisa	phale	yam	atva-pashada-vaḍhi	cha	bh[o]t[i]

<i>Gir.</i>		dhammasa	cha	dīp[a]nā
<i>Kāl.</i>		dhammasha	chā	dipanā
<i>Shāh.</i>		dhramasa	cha	di[pana]
<i>Mān.</i>		dhramasa	cha	[di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A)								ño
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A)	aṭha-[va]shā-	bhishita-	shā	[De]vānaṃpiyasha	Piyadashine	lājine		
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A)	[aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita	[sa]		Devana[pri]a[sa]	Pri[a]draśisa	ra[ño]		
<i>Mān.</i>	(A)	[aṭha]-vashabhisita	[sa]		De[va]na[priyasa]	Priyadraśine	rajine		

<i>Gir.</i>		Kalimḡā	[v . j .]	(B)					
<i>Kāl.</i>		Kaligyā	vijitā	(B)	diyaḍha-mite		pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e	ye	
<i>Shāh.</i>		Ka[liga]	vi[j]ita	(B)	diadha-mat[r]e		praṇa-śata-[saha]sre	y[e]	
<i>Mān.</i>		[Ka]liga	[v]i[j]ita	(B)	[di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e		praṇa-[śata-sa]		

<i>Gir.</i>			[v . dh]e	[sa]ta-sahasra-mātram	tatrā	hataṃ	bahu-tāvatakaṃ
<i>Kāl.</i>		[ta]phā	apavuḍhe	[śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite	tata	hate	bahu-tāvatake
<i>Shāh.</i>		tato	apavuḍhe	śata-sahasra-matre	tatra	hate	bahu-tavata[ke]
<i>Mān.</i>							

<i>Gir.</i>		mata	(C)	tatā	pachhā	adh[u]nā	ladhesu	Kalimḡesu
<i>Kāl.</i>		vā	maṭe	(C)	ta[phā]	adhunā	ladhesha	Kaligyeshu
<i>Shāh.</i>		[va]	m[uṭe]	(C)	tato	[pa]cha	adh[e]shu	[Kaligeshu]
<i>Mān.</i>			[ma]ṭe	(C)	[tato]	pacha	adhuna	la[dhe]shu

<i>Gir.</i>		tī[v]o	dhammavāyo					
<i>Kāl.</i>		tive	dhamma[vāy]e	dhamma-k[ā]matā		dhammānushathi	chā	
<i>Shāh.</i>		[tivre]	dhrama-śilana	dhra[ma-ka]mata		dhramanuśasti	cha	
<i>Mān.</i>		ti[vr]e	dhrama[va]jye			[dhra]manu[śa]sti	[cha]	

<i>Gir.</i>					[sa]yo	Devānaṃpiyasa	
<i>Kāl.</i>		Devānaṃpiyashā	(D)	sh[e]	athi	anushaye	Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā
<i>Shāh.</i>		Devanapriyasa	(D)	so	[a]sti	anusochana	Devanap[ri]a[sa]
<i>Mān.</i>		[De]vana[pri]	(D)				

<i>Gir.</i>		[v . j .]					[va]dho
<i>Kāl.</i>		vijin[i]tu	Kaligyāni	(E)	avijitam	hi	vijinamane
<i>Shāh.</i>		vijiniti	Kaliga[ni]	(E)	avijitam	[hi]	vijjinamano
<i>Mān.</i>							

<i>Gir.</i>	va	marañam	va	apavāho	va	janasa	ta	bāḍham
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā |	malane	vā |	apavahe	[vā] |	jan[a]shā |	[sh]e	bāḍha |
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	marañam	va	apavaḥo	va	janasa	tañ	baḍham
<i>Mān.</i>	..	[marañe	va	apavahe	va	janasa]	se	[baḍham]

<i>Gir.</i>	vedana-mata	cha	g[u]r[u]-mata	cha	Devā[nāmpi]..[sa]	(F)	...
<i>Kāl.</i>	vedaniya-mute |		g[u]l[u]-mut[e]	chā |	Devānā[m]pi]yashā |	(F)	iyam
<i>Shāh.</i>	v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam]		guru-mata[m]	cha	Devanāmpriyasa	(F)	idam
<i>Mān.</i>	vedaniya-mate		guru-mate	[cha	Devanapriyasa]	(F)	[i]yam

<i>Gir.</i>	pi	chu |	tato |	galu-matatale |	D[e]vānāmpiyashā	(G)	[ya]	tatā
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	chu	[tato]	guru-matataram	[Devanā[m]priyasa	(G)	ye	tatra
<i>Mān.</i>	[pi]	chu	tato					

<i>Gir.</i>	. . .	bāmhañā	va	samañā	va	añe	. . .	. . .
<i>Kāl.</i>	vashati	b[ā]bhanā	va	shama	vā	ane	vā	pāśamḍa gih[i]thā
<i>Shāh.</i>	vasati	bramaṇa	va	śrama[ṇa]	va	a[m]ñe	va	prashamḍa gra[ha]tha
<i>Mān.</i>	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

<i>Gir.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	[s]ā	mātr[i]	pitari
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	yeśu	vihitā	[e]sh[a]	a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā		m[ā]tā-piti-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	yesu	vihita	esha	agrabhuṭi-suśrusha		mata-pitushu	
<i>Mān.</i>	..	[ye]su	[vihi]ta	esha	[a]grabhu[ṭi]-suśrusha		mata-pi[tu]sh[u]	

<i>Gir.</i>	susumsā	guru-susumsā		mita-samstata-sahāya-ñātike[su]		dāsa-
<i>Kāl.</i>	shushushā	galu-shushā		mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu		dāśa-
<i>Shāh.</i>	suśrusha	guruna suśrusha		mitra-samstuta-sahaya-ñatikeshu		dasa-
<i>Mān.</i>	su[śru]sha	guru-suśrusha		mit[r]a-sa[m]stu		

<i>Gir.</i>	[bha]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Kāl.</i>	bha[ta]kash[i]	sha[m]yā-paṭipati		diḍha-bhatitā	tesham	tatā	hoti	
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhaṭaṇam	samma-pratipa[ti]		driḍha-bhatita	tesha	tatra	bhoti	
<i>Mān.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

<i>Gir.</i>	. . . . .				abhiratānam	va	vinikhamana	(H)	yesam
<i>Kāl.</i>	[upa]ghāte	vā	vadhe	vā	abhilatānam	vā	vinikhamane	(H)	yesham
<i>Shāh.</i>	[a]pag[r]atho	va	vadho	va	abhiratana	va	nikramaṇam	(H)	yesham
<i>Mān.</i>	. . . . .	[va]	dih[e]	va	abh[iratanam]	va	vinik[ra]mani	(H)	yesham

<i>Gir.</i>	vā	[p.]	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	pi	shuvihi[t]ānam	shinehe	avipahine	e	tānam	mita-samth[u]ta-
<i>Shāh.</i>	va	pi	suvihitanam	[si]ho	aviprahino	[e	te]sha	mitra-samstuta-
<i>Mān.</i>	va	pi	s[u]vih[itanam]	si[ne]he	avipahin[e	e]	ta[nam]	mitra-[sam]....

<i>Gir.</i>	..	[h]āya-ñātikā	vyasanam	prāpuṇati	tata	so	pi	tesa
<i>Kāl.</i>	sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya	viyashanam	pāpunāta	tatā	she	[p]i	t[ā]namev[ā]	
<i>Shāh.</i>	sahaya-ñatika	vasana	prapuṇati	[ta]tra	tañ	pi	tesha	vo
<i>Mān.</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

<i>Gir.</i>	[u]paghāto	hāti	(/)	paṭibhā[g]o	chesā	s[ava]	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	upaghāt[e]	hoti	(/)	paṭibhāge	chā	esh[a]	sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	apaghratho	bhoti	(/)	pratibhagam	cha	[e]taṁ	savra-manuśanaṁ	.	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[esha]	savra-manuśanaṁ	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	gul[u]-m[a]te	chā	Devāna[m]piyashā	(/)	n[a]thi	chā	she	jan[a]pade	yatā	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	guru-mataṁ	cha	Devanaṁpriya[sa]	(/)	nasti	cha	.	.	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	guru-mate	cha	Devanaṁpriyasa	(/)	nasti	cha	se	janapade	yatra	.

<i>Gir.</i>	..	sti	ime	nikāyā	añatra	Yone[su]	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	nathi	ime	nikāyā	ānatā	Y[o]nesh[u]	baṁhmane	ch[ā]	shamane	chā	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	nasti	ime	ni[ka]ya	a[ña]tra	Yoneshu	[bramaṇe	cha]	śra[maṇe]	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	[mh]i	yatra	nāsti	mānusānaṁ	ekataṛamhi	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	nathi	chā	kuvāpi	jan[a]padashi	[ya]tā	n[a]thi	m[a]nushān[a]	ekatalash[i]	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	ekatare	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	pi	[janapada]si	ya[t]ra	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	pāsaṁdamhi	na	nāma	prasā[d]o	(K)	y[ā]vata[k]o	j[ano]	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	[p]i	pāshaḍashi	no	n[ā]ma	pashāde	(K)	she	ava[ta]ke	jane	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	pi	prashaḍaspi	na	nama	prasado	(K)	so	yamatro	[ja]no	.
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	na	nama	prasade	(K)	se	yavatake	jane	.

<i>Gir.</i>	[ta]d[ā]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	t[a]dā	Kali[m]geshu	[ladheshu	ha]te	ch[ā]	mat[e]	chā	[apavudhe]	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	tada	Kalige	.	[ha]to	cha	muṭ[o]	cha	apav[udha]	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	tada	Kaliges[u]	.	hate	cha	.	.	apavudhe	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	sra-bhāgo	va	garu-mat[o]	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	[chā]	tato	shat[e] bhāge	vā	shah[a]sha-bhāge	vā	aja	gulu-mate	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	cha	tato	śata-bhage	va	sahasra-bhagam	va	[a]ja	guru-mataṁ	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	ta[to]	śata-bhage	va	sahasra-bhage	va	aja	guru-ma[te]	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	Devānaṁ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	vā	Devāna[m]piyashā	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	v[o]	Devanaṁpriyasa	(L)	yo	pi	cha	apakarēyati	kshamitaviya-mate	va	.
<i>Mān.</i>	[va]	Devanapriya[sa]	(L)	.	.	pa[ka]	.	[m]i[tavi]	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	na	ya	saka	chhamitave	(M)	yā	cha	pi	aṭaviyo
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanaṁp[r]iyasa	yaṁ	śako	kshamanaye	(M)	ya	pi	cha	aṭavi	.
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	(M)	[pi	cha]	aṭavi	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	D[e]vānaṁpiya[sa]	pijite	pāti	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	Devanaṁpriyasa	vijite	bhoti	ta	pi	anuneti	anunijapeti	.	.	.
<i>Mān.</i>	Devanapriyasa	vijitasi	hoti	[ta]	pi	a[nuna]ya[ti	a[nu[nijha]paya[ti]	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	..chate	te[sa]m	Devānaṃpiyasa	...	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	(N)	anutape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanaṃpriyasa	vuchati	tesha	kiti			
<i>Mān.</i>	(N)	[anu]tape	pi	cha	prabhava	Devanapriyasa	vuchati	[te]sha	[ki]..			

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sava-
<i>Kāl.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ney]u	(O)	ichha	.	.	.	sha[va]-
<i>Shāh.</i>	avatrapeyu	na	cha	[ha]mñeyasu	(O)	ichhati	hi	D[e]vanāṃpriyo	savra-			
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	(O)	chha	.	vanapri[y.]	.	.	

<i>Gir.</i>	bhūtānām	achhatim	cha	sayamam	cha	samachairam	ch[a]	mādava	cha			
<i>Kāl.</i>	[bhu]	.	.	[shayama	shamacha]	liya[m]	madava	ti				
<i>Shāh.</i>	bhutana	akshati	sa[m]	yamam	sama[cha]	riyam	rabhasiye					
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	(P)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	(P)	iyam	vu	mu	.	.	.	Devānaṃpiyeshā	ye	dha[m]	ma-	.
<i>Shāh.</i>	(P)	ayi	cha	mukha-mut[a]	vijaye	Devanaṃpriya[sa]	yo	dhrama-				
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	[mukha]-mute	v[i]jaye	D[e]vanapriyasa	ye	dhrama-				

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[la]dh[o]	...	naṃpriyasa	idha			
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	sh[e]	cha	punā	ladhe	Devāna[ṃp]i	.	.	.	cha	
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijayo-	(Q)	so	cha	puna	ladho	Devanaṃpriyasa	iha	cha			
<i>Mān.</i>	vijaye	(Q)	se	cha	[puna]	la[dh]e	[Deva]napri[ya]sa	hida	cha			

<i>Gir.</i>	[sa]vesu	[ch.]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	shaveshu	cha	ateshu	a	shashu	pi	[yo]jana-shateshu	at[a]				
<i>Shāh.</i>	saveshu	cha	aṃteshu	[a]	shashu	pi	yojana-śa[t]eshu	yatra				
<i>Mān.</i>	sa[vr]eshu	cha	aṃteshu	a	shashu	pi	y[o]ja[na-śa]t[eshu]	...				

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	[Yo]na-rāja	param	cha	tena				
<i>Kāl.</i>	Atiyoge	nām[a]	Yo[na-lā]..	[pa]lam	chā	tenā	A[m]tiyogenā					
<i>Shāh.</i>	Aṃtiyoko	nama	Y[o]na-raja	param	cha	tena	Atiyok[e]na					
<i>Mān.</i>	.. tiyo[ge]	nama	Yo[na-[raja]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	chatpāro	rājāno	Turamāyo	cha	[A]m̐t[ek]ina	cha	Magā					
<i>Kāl.</i>	chatāli	4	lajāne	Tulamaye	[nā]m[a]	Aṃteki[ne	nā]ma	Makā				
<i>Shāh.</i>	chature	4	rajani	Turamaye	nama	Aṃtikini	nama	Maka				
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	Aṃt[e]....	[nama	Ma]ka				

<i>Gir.</i>	cha	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	nāma	Alikyashudale	nāma	nicham	Choḍa-Paṃḍiyā	avam						
<i>Shāh.</i>	nama	Alikasudaro	nama	nicha	Choḍa-Paṃḍa	ava						
<i>Mān.</i>	na[ma]	Alikasudare	nama	nicha	Choḍa-Paṃḍiya	a						

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	Tambapaṃniyā	hevamev[ā]	(R)	hevamevā	[hi]dā	lā[ja]-viśavashi						
<i>Shāh.</i>	Ta[m]bapaṃ[ni]ya		(R)	[e]vameva	[hi]da	raja-vishavaspi						
<i>Mān.</i>	Tambapa[m]niya		(R)	evameva	[hida]	raja-vishava[si]						

<i>Gir.</i>	[Y]o[na]-Kaṃbo				
<i>Kāl.</i>	Yona-Kaṃbojeshu	Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṃtishu	Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u		
<i>Shāh.</i>	Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu	Nabhaka-Nabhitina	Bhoja-Pitinikeshu		
<i>Mān.</i>	Y[o]na-Kaṃ[bojeshu]	Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu	[Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu		

<i>Gir.</i>	ṃdhra-Pāriṃdesu	savata	Devānaṃpiyasa	dhammānus[a]stīm	
<i>Kāl.</i>	[Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u	[sha]vatā	[D]evā[na]ṃpi[ya]shā	dhammānu[sha]thi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	Aṃdhra-Palideshu	savatra	Devanaṃpriyasa	dhramanuśasti	
<i>Mān.</i>	Adha-[Pa]				

<i>Gir.</i>	anuv[a]tare	(S) yata	pi dūti		
<i>Kāl.</i>	anuvataṃti	(S) y[a]ta	pi dutā Devāna[ṃp]iyasā	no yaṃti	t[e] pi
<i>Shāh.</i>	anuvataṃti	(S) yatra	pi Devanaṃpriyasa	duta na vrachānti	te pi
<i>Mān.</i>		(S) [yatra	pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa	na yaṃti	te pi

<i>Gir.</i>				[na]ṃ dhamānusastīm	
<i>Kāl.</i>	sutu Dev[āna]ṃp[i]naṃya	dh[aṃma]-vutaṃ	v[i]dh[a]na[m]	dhammānusa[th]i	
<i>Shāh.</i>	śrutu Devanaṃpriyasa	dhrama-vutaṃ	vidh[a]naṃ	dhramanuśasti	
<i>Mān.</i>	śrutu Devanapriyasa	dhrama-vuta	vidhana[m]	dhramanuśasti	

<i>Gir.</i>	cha dhamam	anuvīdhiyare			
<i>Kāl.</i>	dha[m]ma[m]	anuvīdhiyama	[a]nuvīdhiyama	[ch]ā (T) ye se	
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhramam	[a]nuvīdhiyaṃti	anuvīdhiyaṃti	cha (T) yo [sa]	
<i>Mān.</i>	dhra[m]ma[m]	anuvīdhiyaṃti	[a]nuvīdhiy[i]saṃti	cha (T) [ye se]	

<i>Gir.</i>				[v]ijayo savathā	puna vijayo
<i>Kāl.</i>	[la]dhe etakenā	hoti	savatā	vi[ja]ye	
<i>Shāh.</i>	ladhe etakena	bho[ti]	savatra	vijayo sava[tra]	pu[na] vijayo
<i>Mān.</i>	ladhe e[ta]ke[na]	ho[ti]	savra[tra]	vi[jaye]	

<i>Gir.</i>	pīti-raso	sā (U)	ladhā	sā pīti	hoti	dhamma-vijayamhi
<i>Kāl.</i>	piti-lase	se (U)	gadhā	sā hoti	piti piti	dhamm[a]-vijayashi
<i>Shāh.</i>	priti-raso	so (U)	ladha	bh[oti]	priti	dhrama-vijayaspi
<i>Mān.</i>						

<i>Gir.</i>						
<i>Kāl.</i>	(V) lahukā	v[u]	kho sā	piti (W)	pālaṃtikyameve	maha-phalā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(V) lahuka	tu	kho sa	priti (W)	paratri[ka]meva	maha-phala
<i>Mān.</i>				(W)	paratrikameva	maha-phala

<i>Gir.</i>			ṃ[p]riyo (X)	etā[ya]	athā[ya]	ayaṃ dhamma-
<i>Kāl.</i>	maṃnam[ti]	Dev[e]naṃ[pi]ne	(X) etāye	chā aṭhāye	iyaṃ dha[m]ma-	
<i>Shāh.</i>	meṇati	Devana[m]priyo	(X) etaye	cha aṭhaye	ayi dhrama-	
<i>Mān.</i>	[ma]ṇati	De[va]napri[ye]	(X) e[ta]ye	cha [a]thray[e]	iyaṃ dhramma-	

<i>Gir.</i>	[l]					[va]ṃ vijayaṃ mā
<i>Kāl.</i>	lipi	likhitā	kiti	putā	papotā	me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma
<i>Shāh.</i>	dipi	nipi[sta]	kiti	putra	papotra	me asu navaṃ vijayaṃ ma
<i>Mān.</i>	dipi	li[khi]ta	kiti	putra	prap[o]tra	me a[su] nava[m] v[i]. . .

<i>Gir.</i>	vijetavyam	maññā	sarasake	eva	vijaye	chhāti	cha	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	vijayataviya	manishu	shayakashi	no	vi[ja]yashi	khamti	chā	la	hu-
<i>Shāh.</i>	vijetav[i]a	mañishu	spa[kaspi]	yo	vijay[e	ksham]ti	cha	lahu-	
<i>Mān.</i>	.... [tavi]yam	mañ[ishu	saya]	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	damḍatā	[chā]	lochetu	tameva	chā	vijayam	manatu	ye	
<i>Shāh.</i>	da[m]ḍata	cha	rochetu	tañ	cha	yo	vija	maña[tu]	yo
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	kik[o]	ch[a	pā[r[alo]ki[ko]	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	dhamma-vijaye	(Y) she	hidalokikya			palalokiye	(Z) shavā		
<i>Shāh.</i>	dhrama-vijayo	(Y) so	hidalokiko			paralokiko	(Z) sava-		
<i>Mān.</i>	.	(Y) .	hidaloke			paralokike	(Z) sava		

<i>Gir.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Kāl.</i>	cha	ka	nilati	hot[u]		uyāma-lāti	(AA) shā	hi	
<i>Shāh.</i>	chatī-rati			bhotu	ya	[dh]rañma-rati	(AA) sa	hi	
<i>Mān.</i>	cha	[ka]	nirati	hotu	ya	dhrama-rati	(AA) sa	hi	

<i>Gir.</i>	ilokikā	cha	pāralokikā	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	hi[da]lokika		pa[la]lokikyā	
<i>Shāh.</i>	hidalokika		paralokika	
<i>Mān.</i>	[i]aloki[ka]		paraloki[ka]	

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

<i>Gir.</i>	(A) ayam	dhamma-lipī	Devānañpriyena	Priyadasinā	r[ā]ññā
<i>Kāl.</i>	(A) iyañ	dhama-lipi	Dev[ānañp]i[y]e[n]ā	[P]iyadasinā	lajinā
<i>Shāh.</i>	(A) ayi	dhrama-dipi	Devanañpriyena	Priśi[na]	rañña
<i>Mān.</i>	(A) [i]yañ	dhrama-dipi	De[va]ñapriyena	Pri[ya]	[jina]
<i>Dhau.</i>	(A) iyañ	dhamma-lipī	De[v]ānañpiyena	Piyada[sin]ā	lāj[inā]
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	l[e]khāpitā	asti	eva	sañkhit[e]na	asti	majhamena	asti	vistatana
<i>Kāl.</i>	likhāpitā	athi	yevā	sukhitenā	[a]thi	majhimenā	athi	vithaṭenā
<i>Shāh.</i>	nipesapita	asti	vo	sañkshitenā	asti	yo		vistriṭena
<i>Mān.</i>	[likhapita]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	[likhā]	.	.	.	athi	ma[jh]imena]	.	.
<i>Ṭau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	[ma]jhime[na]	ath[i]	vithaṭena

<i>Gir.</i>	(B) na	cha	sarvañ	[sa]rvata	ghaṭitañ	(C) mahālake	hi	vijitañ
<i>Kāl.</i>	(B) no	hi	savatā	save	[gha]ṭite	(C) mahālake	hi	vijite
<i>Shāh.</i>	(B) na	hi	savatra	sasavre	gaṭite	(C) mahalake	hi	vijite
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	(B) .	[h]i	save	sav[a]ta	ghaṭite	(C) mahamte	hi	vijaye
<i>Ṭau.</i>	(B) [no]	hi	save	savata	ghaṭite	(C) mahamte	hi	vijaye

<i>Gir.</i>	bahu	cha	likhitam	likhāpayisam	cheva	(D)	asti	cha
<i>Kāl.</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	lekhāpeśāmi	cheva	nikyam	(D)	athi chā
<i>Shāh.</i>	bahu	cha	likhite	likha[p]eśāmi	cheva		(D)	asti chu
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	[likhite	likha]pe[śa]mi	che[va]	ni . . .	(D)	[asti chu]
<i>Dhau.</i>	bahu[k]e	cha	likhite	likhiyis	.	.	(D)	[a]thi
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	eta	kam	puna	puna	vutam	tasa	tasa	athasa	mādhuratāya
<i>Kāl.</i>	hetā		puna	pun[ā]	la[p]it[e]	tasha	tashā	athashā	madhuliyāye
<i>Shāh.</i>	atra		puna	puna	[la]pitam	tasa	tasa	[a]thasa	madhuriyaye
<i>Mān.</i>	[a]tra		puna	puna	la[p]ite	tasa	ta[sa]	a[thra]sa	[madhu]riyaye
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	.	.	.	[vu]te	ta[sa]	.	.	[y]āy[e]
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[sa]	mādhuliyāye

<i>Gir.</i>	kimti		jano	tathā	paṭipajetha	(E)		tatra
<i>Kāl.</i>	yena		jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā	(E)	she	shāyā ata
<i>Shāh.</i>	ye[na]		jana	tatha	paṭipajeyati	(E)	so	siya va atra
<i>Mān.</i>	[ye]na		jane	ta[tha]	paṭipaje[ya]ti	(E)	se	[si]ya atra
<i>Dhau.</i>	[k]imti	cha	j[a]ne	tathā	paṭipajeyā ti	(E)	e	pi chu heta
<i>Jau.</i>	kimt[i]	cha	jane	tathā	paṭipajeyā ti	(E)	e	pi chu heta

<i>Gir.</i>	ekadā	asamāt[a]m	likhita[m]	asa	desam	va	sachhāya	[kā]raṇam	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	k[i]chhi	asamati	likhite		dishā	vā	shamkheye	kālanam	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	kichhe	asamatam	likhitam		deśam	va	samkhaya[a]	karaṇa	va
<i>Mān.</i>	ki[chhi]	.	[t]i	likhi[t.]	.	va	[samkha]ya	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>		asamati	likhit[e]	s]	... sam	..	[lochay]itu	.	.
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

<i>Gir.</i>	[a]lochetpā	lipikarāparadhena	va
<i>Kāl.</i>	alochayitu	li[p]ikalapalādhena	vā
<i>Shāh.</i>	alocheti	dipikarasa	va aparadhena
<i>Mān.</i>	.	.	.
<i>Dhau.</i>	.	k[a][ā]	[t]i
<i>Jau.</i>	.	.	.

II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

<i>Dhau.</i>	(A)	[Devāna]m[pi]y[asa	vacha]nena	Tosaliyam	ma[hā]māta
<i>Jau.</i>	(A)	Dev[ā]nampiye	he[va]m [ā]hā	(B) Sam[ā]pāyam	mahāmāta

<i>Dhau.</i>	[naga]la-[v]i[yo]hālak[ā	va]taviya	(B)	[am	kichhi	dakhā]mi
<i>Jau.</i>	[na]gala-viyohālaka	he[va]m va]tav[i]y[ā]	(C)	am	kichhi	dakhāmi

<i>Dhau.</i>	hakam	tam	ichhāmi	k[i]m[t]i	kam[mana	pa]ti[pāday]eham
<i>Jau.</i>	ha[k]am	[tam]	ichhām[i	k]im[t]i	kam	kamana pa]tipātayeham

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la]
Ṭau. duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam

Dhau. [etasi aṭha]si am tuph[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-
Ṭau. a[m] tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-

Dhau. sahasesum ā[yata] p[a]na[yam] ga]chh[e]ma su munisānam
Ṭau. sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]

Dhau. (E) save munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m]
Ṭau. (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]

Dhau. [kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena hidal[o]kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ū]jev[ū]
Ṭau. [kim]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena

Dhau. [t]i [tathā muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha
Ṭau. [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu tu[phe]

Dhau. pāpunātha āv[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iyam aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-
Ṭau. [e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]yam aṭh[e] (I) kechā eka-

Dhau. puli[se] nāti e[ta]m se pi desam no savam (J) de[kha]t[a] hi
Ṭau. [muni]s[e] pā[p]unāti se pi desam no savam (Ṭ) dakhatha hi

Dhau. [t]u[phe] etam suvi[hi]tā pi (Ṭ) [n]itiyam eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e]
Ṭau. [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi ye eti eka-munise

Dhau. baṁdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā
Ṭau. ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka]sm[ā]

Dhau. tena badhana[m]tik[a] amne cha hu jane da[v]iye
Ṭau. ti ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka] anye] cha [va]ge bahuke

Dhau. dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kimti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā
Ṭau. vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]ṭipādayem[a]

Dhau. ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṁpaṭipajati isāya āsulopena
Ṭau. (N) imehi jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti i[s]ā[ya] āsulopena

Dhau. ni[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena
Ṭau. [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na] t[ul]āya [a]nā[v]uti[ya] āla[s]y[e]na ki]lamath[e]na

Dhau. (N) se ichhitaviye kitim ete [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]jā
Ṭau. (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni n]o hveyū

Dhau. ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha
Ṭau. ti (P) savasa chu iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā] cha

Dhau. (P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā [na] te uga[chha]
Ṭau. (Q) ni[tiya]m [e]y[am] k[i]l[am]te [siya] samchalitu uthāy[ā]

Dhau. saṁchalitaviy[e] tu va[t̪]ita[v̪]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṁmeva
Jau. saṁchalitavye tu v[a]ṭitaviya [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yaṁ (R) eve

Dhau. e da[kheya] t̪[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānaṁne dekhata
Jau. dakh[e]yā āna[m̃]ne ñijhap[e]ta[vi]ye

Dhau. hevaṁ cha hev[a]ṁ cha [D]evānaṁpiyasa anusathi (R) se
Jau. heva[m̃] hevaṁ] cha Devānaṁ[p̪]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]ṁ

Dhau. mah[ā-pha]le [e] t̪[a]sa [saṁpa]ṭipāda mahā-apāye asaṁpaṭipati
Jau. [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

Dhau. (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayaṁne hi etaṁ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
Jau. (T) vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ no svag[a]-ālādhi no lājādhi

Dhau. (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṁm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke
Jau. (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]ṭe ma[n]o[ati]le[ke]

Dhau. (U) sa[m̃]paṭipajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṁ] svaga[m̃] ālādha[yi]sa[tha]
Jau. (V) [etaṁ] saṁpaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānaneyaṁ esatha

Dhau. [mama cha ā]naniyaṁ ehatha (V) iyaṁ cha l[i]p[i] t̪[i]sa-na[kha]tena
Jau. svagaṁ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyaṁ chā li[p̪]i anutisaṁ

Dhau. so[ta]viy[ā] (W) aṁta[l]ā [p̪]i cha [t̪]i[s]e[na kha]nasi kha[nas]i
Jau. sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā [p̪]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā

Dhau. ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe chaghatha
Jau. ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) m[i]ne ch[aghatha]

Dhau. sampa[t̪]ipād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t̪āye aṭhāye iya[m̃]li[p̪]i likhit[a h]ida ena
Jau. tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l̪]ip̪i ena

Dhau. nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṁ samayaṁ yūjevū t̪[i] . . .
Jau. mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m̃] sama[ya]ṁ [etaṁ] yu[j̪]ey[u] t̪[i] ena

Dhau. . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā
Jau. [muni]s[ā]naṁ [a] ne [pal]i[k̪]i

Dhau. ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m̃] mate p[a]m̃chasu paṁchasu
Jau. ye [pa]m̃chasu paṁchasu

Dhau. [va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṁ]d[e]
Jau. va[sesu] anu[s]a[yānaṁ] nikhāma[y]isāmi mahāmāta[m̃] acham̃da[m̃]

Dhau. s[a]khinālaṁbhe hosati etaṁ aṭhaṁ jānitu [ta]thā kala[m̃]ti
Jau. apha[usa]ṁ ta

Dhau. atha mama anusathi ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]
Jau. pi kumāle [v]

Dhau. aṭhāye [ni]khāma[yisa] hedisameva vagam no cha atikāmayisati
Jau. m[ayi]

Dhan. timni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte pi (CC) [a]dā a
Jan. [lā][e]

Dhau. te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānam tadā ahāpayitu atane
Ṭau. vachanik[a] ada [anusa]yānam n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne

Dhau. kamman etam pi jānisanti tam pi ta[th]ā kalamti
Jau. ka[r̥mma]m [yitu tam pi tathā] kalamti

Dhau. a[tha] lājine anusathī ti
Ḥau. [athā]

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. (A) Devānāmpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyam kumāle mahāmātā cha
Jau. (A) Devānāmpiye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyam mahamātā

Dhau. vataviya (B) am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam tam i]
Fau. l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) am kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakam tam i[chh]āmi

Dhau. duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa
Fau. hakam k[im]ti kam kamana paṭipātayeham duvā[la]te cha ālabheham (D) esa

Dhau. cha me mokhya-matā duvālā etasi aṭhasi am tuphe[s]u . . .
Jau. cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[m] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]

Dhau. mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakam ki[m̃]ti
Jau. (E) sava-munisā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kim̃ti me

Dhau. savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti
Jau. savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū¹ ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[na]

Dhau. h[e]v[am̐] (F) siyā aṃtānaṃ avijitānaṃ
Ḍau. hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitānaṃ

Dhau. ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu] .. (G) ... m[a]va ichha mama amtesu
Jau. kim-chhāmde su lājā aphesū ti (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]intesu

Dhau. ...i [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānāmp[iy] [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
Fau. pāpunevu lājā hevam ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]

<i>Dhau.</i>	huvevū	ti	asvasevu	cha	sukhammeva		lahevu	mamat[e]
<i>Jau.</i>	mamiyāye	[a]	svaseyu	cha	me	sukham[m]ev[a]	cha	lahey[ū] mamate

<i>Dhau.</i>	no	dukha[m]	h[e]va[m]		... un[e]vū	iti	khamisati	ne
<i>Jau.</i>	[n]o	kha[m]	heva[m]	cha	pāpuneyu		kha[m]i[s]a[ti]	ne

¹ The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]tha pajāye icchāmi kim[ti] m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujeyū.

Dhau. Devānaṃpiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]
Jau. lājā e s[a]kiye khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ

Dhau. cha dhammaṃ chalevū hidaloka palaloka[m] cha
Jau. cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṃ] cha palalogaṃ cha

Dhau. ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
Jau. ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakaṃ tupheni anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusāsitu chhamdaṃ cha veditu
Jau. ana[ne] eta]kena [ha]kaṃ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhamda[m] cha vedi[t]u

Dhau. ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimñā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu
Jau. ā mama dhiti paṭimñā cha achala (J) sa hevaṃ [ka]ṭu

Dhau. kaṃme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i [cha] tāni ena
Jau. k[aṃ]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te

Dhau. pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānaṃpiy[e] aphāka athā cha
Jau. pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṃ [n]e lājā ti atha

Dhau. atānaṃ hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye [a]nukaṃpati aphe athā cha pajā
Jau. [a]tānaṃ anukaṃpat[i] he]vaṃ a[ph]eni anuka[m]pa]ti athā pajā

Dhau. hevaṃ may[e] D[e]vānaṃpiyasa (J) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]mda[m]
Jau. hevaṃ [may]e lā[i]jine (K) tupheni hakaṃ anusāsita [chh]āmdaṃ

Dhau. ch[a] veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike
Jau. [cha v]e[di]ta [ā ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]jike

Dhau. hosāmi etāye aṭhāye (K) paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-
Jau. hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṃ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]

Dhau. sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (L) hevaṃ cha
Jau. sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]lalo[ki]kā[y]e (M) hevaṃ cha

Dhau. kalamtaṃ tuphe svagaṃ ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṃ
Jau. kalamtaṃ svaga[m] cha ā]lādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyam

Dhau. ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā hida e[na]
Jau. es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m lipi li[kh]i[ta] hi]da e[na]

Dhau. [ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa]ma yujisaṃti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-
Jau. [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsataṃ samam yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhamma-

Dhau. chala[n]āye cha tes[a] aṃtānaṃ (N) iyaṃ cha lipi [anu]chātummasaṃ
Jau. chala[nā]ye [cha] aṃtā[na]m (O) iyaṃ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]asaṃ

Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmaṃ chu [kha]ṇas[i] khanasi
Jau. s[ota]viyā tisena (P) aṃta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

Dhau. aṁtaḷā pi tisena ekena [p]i [so]taviya (P) hevaṁ kala[m]taṁ
Fau. (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]la[m]ta[m]

Dhau. [t]uphe chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayitave
Fau. chaghatha saṁpaṭipādayit[av]e

III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

Tōp. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
Ar. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Nand. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
Rām. (A) Devānaṁpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
All. (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṁ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

Tōp. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Ar. me iyaṁ dhamma-li[p]i likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Nand. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
Rām. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipādaye
All. me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭipāda[y]e

Tōp. aṁnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāyā agāya su[sū]sāyā
Ar. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāy[a] agāya susūsāya
Nand. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya
Rām. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya
All. aṁnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā

Tōp. aṁena bhayenā aṁena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
Ar. aṁena bhayena aṁena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Nand. aṁena bhayena aṁena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
Rām. aṁena bhayena aṁena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya
All. aṁena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

Tōp. dhammāpekḥā dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati chevā
Ar. dhammāpekḥa dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Nand. dhammāpekḥa dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
Rām. dhammāpekḥa dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
All. dhammāpekḥā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati ch[e]vā

Tōp. (E) pulisā pi chā me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā
Ar. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Nand. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Rām. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
All. (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha

Tōp. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti chā alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Ar. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Nand. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
Rām. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave
All. anuvidhīyaṁti saṁpaṭipādayaṁti cha alaṁ chapalaṁ samādapayitave

<i>Tōp.</i>	(F) hemevā	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esa	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>									
<i>Ar.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	(F) hemeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	(F) hemmeva	aṁta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	[i]yam	dhammena

<i>Tōp.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena
<i>Mīr.</i>	....[naṁ]	dhammen[a]	v[i]dh[āne]	dha[me]		
<i>Ar.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukh[i]yana	dhammena
<i>Nand.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyana	dhammena
<i>Rām.</i>	pālana	dhammena	vidhāne	dha[m]m[e]na	sukhiyana	dhammena
<i>All.</i>	pālanā	dhammena	vidhāne	dhammena	sukhiyanā	dhammena

<i>Tōp.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>		
<i>Ar.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	gotī	ti
<i>All.</i>	[gut]i	[ti cha]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Mīr.</i>	(A) De[vā]n[a]ṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	[hevaṁ ā]..		(B) dh[am]me	s[ā]dh[u]
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) dhamme	sādhū
<i>All.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B) dhamme	sādhū

<i>Tōp.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache	
<i>Mīr.</i>	k[īya]m	.	.	[m]e	ti	(C)	a[pā]sinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache
<i>Ar.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache	
<i>Nand.</i>	kiya	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache	
<i>Rām.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	daya	dāne	sache	
<i>All.</i>	kiyaṁ	chu	dhamme	ti	(C)	apāsinave	bahu	kayāne	dayā	dāne	sache	

<i>Tōp.</i>	sochaye	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-	
<i>Mīr.</i>	sochaye	(D)	[chakhu-dā]nā	[pi	me]	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	du[pa]da-	
<i>Ar.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-
<i>Nand.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-
<i>Rām.</i>	socheye	ti	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-
<i>All.</i>	sochaye	(D)	chakhu-dāne	pi	me	bahuvidhe	dimne	(E)	dupada-	

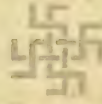
<i>Tōp.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Mīr.</i>	ch[a]tu[pa]desu	pakhi-vālichalesu	viv[i]dhe	me	anu]gahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Ar.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Nand.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>Rām.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-
<i>All.</i>	chatupadesu	pakhi-vālichalesu	vividhe	me	anugahe	kaṭe	ā	pāna-

<i>Tōp.</i>	dākhiṇāye	(F)	aṁṇāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Mīr.</i>	dākhiṇāye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bah[ūni	kayānāni]	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Ar.</i>	dakhiṇāye	(F)	a[m]nāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Nand.</i>	dakhiṇāye	(F)	aṁṇāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>Rām.</i>	dakhiṇāye	(F)	aṁṇāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye
<i>All.</i>	dakhiṇāye	(F)	aṁṇāni	pi	cha	me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G)	etāye

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Mīr.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	li[khāpitā]	. . . . .	anupaṭipajamtu	chil[am]-
<i>Ar.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhama-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Nand.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>Rām.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chilam-
<i>All.</i>	me	aṭhāye	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	hevaṁ	anupaṭipajamtu	chila-

<i>Tōp.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū	tī	ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>Mīr.</i>	[th]itikā	cha	hot[ū]		ti	(H)	ye	[cha]	. . . . .	[sa]ti	se
<i>Ar.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>Nand.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>Rām.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se
<i>All.</i>	thitikā	cha	hotū		ti	(H)	ye	cha	hevaṁ	samṭaṭṭipajisati	se

<i>Tōp.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	sukaṭam	ka[chha]tī	ti
<i>Ar.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	
<i>Rām.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti
<i>All.</i>	sukaṭam	kachhatī	ti



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THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhati
<i>Mīr.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānaṁm[eva	de]
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhamti
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhamti
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānaṁmeva	dekhamti
<i>All.</i>	(A)	Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B)	kayānameva	dekhati

<i>Tōp.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	d[e]khati	iyam	me
<i>Mīr.</i>	. . . . .		kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	min[ā]	pāpam	dekhati	iyam	me
<i>Ar.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	tī	(C)	no	mina	pāpam	dekhamti	iyam	me
<i>All.</i>	iyam	me	kayāne	kaṭe	ti	(C)	no	mina	pāpakaṁ	dekhati	iyam	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Mīr.</i>	pāp[e	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va]	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	[du]paṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Ar.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Nand.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>Rām.</i>	pāpe	kaṭe	ti	iyam	va	āsinave	nāmā	ti	(D)	dupaṭivekhe	chu	kho
<i>All.</i>	pāpake	kaṭe	ti	iyam	vā	āsinave	nāmā	ti	. . . . .		

<i>Tōp.</i>	esā	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāma
<i>Mīr.</i>	esā	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	[esa de]	khiye	(F)	imāni	āsinav[a-gāmīni]	nāma
<i>Ar.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
<i>Nand.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā
<i>Rām.</i>	esa	(E)	hevaṃ	chu	kho	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava-gāmīni	nāmā

<i>Tōp.</i>		atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
<i>Mīr.</i>		atha	chaṃḍ[i]ye	ni[ṭhū]li[y]e	k[o]dhe	māne	isyā	kālanena	[va]
<i>Ar.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
<i>Nand.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va
<i>Rām.</i>	ti	atha	chaṃḍiye	niṭhūliye	kodhe	māne	isya	kālanena	va

<i>Top.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	(G)	esa	bāḍha	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	
<i>Mīr.</i>	hakam	mā	palibha[sa]yi[sa]ṃ	(G)	...	bā[ḍham]	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	
<i>Ar.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	ti	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Nand.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	ti	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me
<i>Rām.</i>	hakam	mā	palibhasayisaṃ	(G)	esa	bāḍham	dekhiye	(H)	iyam	me	

<i>Top.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	
<i>Mir.</i>	[hi]dat[i]kāye	iyam	me	pālatikāye	
<i>Ar.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	hidatikāye	iyammana	me	pālatikāye	ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	l[ā]ja	hevaṃ	āhā	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
<i>Nand.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena
<i>Rām.</i>	(A)	Devānaṃpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṃ	āha	(B)	saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Ar.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Nand.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu
<i>Rām.</i>	me	iyam	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	(C)	lajūkā	me	bahūsu	pāna-sata-sahasasu

<i>Tōp.</i>	janasi	āyatā	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihāle	vā	daṃḍe	vā	ata-patiye	me
<i>Ar.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihāle	va	d[a]ṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Nand.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	me
<i>Rām.</i>	janasi	āyata	(D)	tesaṃ	ye	abhihale	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	me

<i>Tōp.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūkā	asvatha	abhītā	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū		janasa
<i>Ar.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Nand.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa
<i>Rām.</i>	kaṭe	kiṃti	lajūka	asvatha	abhīta	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	janasa

<i>Tōp.</i>	jānapadasā	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	chā	(E)	sukhīyana-
<i>Ar.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhīyana-
<i>Nand.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhīyana-
<i>Rām.</i>	jānapadasa	hita-sukhaṃ	upadahevū	anugahinevu	cha	(E)	sukhīyana-

<i>Tōp.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ
<i>Ar.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	dukhīyanaṃ	jānisamti	dhamma-yutena	cha	viyovadisamti	janaṃ	jānapadaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti
<i>Ar.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū		(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti
<i>Nand.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti
<i>Rām.</i>	kiṃti	hidataṃ	cha	pālataṃ	cha	ālādhayevū	ti	(F)	lajūkā	pi	laghaṃti

<i>Tōp.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Ar.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Nand.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulis[ā]ni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti
<i>Rām.</i>	paṭichalitave	maṃ	(G)	pulisāni	pi	me	chhamdamnāni	paṭichalisamti

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūkā	chaghaṃti
<i>Mīr.</i>									[ka]	chaghaṃti
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghaṃti
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghaṃti
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	te	pi	cha	kāni	viyovadisamti	yena	maṃ	lajūka	chaghaṃti

<i>Tōp.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[ā]lādha[y]i[tave]	(I)							tu asvathe
<i>Ar.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Nand.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe
<i>Rām.</i>	ālādhayitave	(I)	athā	hi	pajaṃ	viyatāye	dhātiye	nisijitu	asvathe

<i>Tōp.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihaṭave	hevaṃ
<i>Mīr.</i>	[ho]ti	vi[ya]						[I]i[ha]ṭave	hev[am]
<i>Ar.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	paṃjaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihaṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihaṭave	ti hevaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	hoti	viyata	dhāti	chaghati	me	pajaṃ	sukhaṃ	palihaṭave	ti hevaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	mamā	lajūkā	kaṭā	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhītā
<i>Mīr.</i>	[mam]ā	[la]jūk[a]					ye (Y)	yen[a]	ete a[bh]itā
<i>Ar.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhīta
<i>Nand.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhīta
<i>Rām.</i>	mama	lajūka	kaṭa	jānapadasa	hita-sukhāye	(Y)	yena	ete	abhīta

<i>Tōp.</i>	asvatha	saṃtaṃ	avimanā	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Mīr.</i>	asvatha	saṃ			[pa]vataye[v]ū	ti	[e]te[na]
<i>Ar.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	achhimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Nand.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena
<i>Rām.</i>	asvathā	saṃtaṃ	avimana	kaṃmāni	pavatayevū	ti	etena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abh[i]hāle	va	daṃḍe	vā	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Mīr.</i>	me	[laj]ū[kā]n[am]	.	.	.	.	ata-patiye	kaṭ[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	[a]bhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	me	lajūkānaṃ	abhihāle	va	daṃḍe	va	ata-patiye	kaṭe
<i>All.</i>	.	[kānaṃ	abhihāle	vā	daṃḍe	vā	ata-pa]ṭ[i]y[e	kaṭe]

<i>Tōp.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	[h]i	esā	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Mīr.</i>	(K)	ichhitavi	.	.	.	[h]āla-samatā	ch[a]	siyā
<i>Ar.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Nand.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	kiṃti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>Rām.</i>	(K)	ichhitaviye	hi	esa	ki[m]ti	viyohāla-samatā	cha	siya
<i>All.</i>	(K)	[i]chh[i]ṭ[a]v[i]y[e]	h[i]	e[s[a]	k[iṃ]ṭ[i]	..... la-sama[t]ā	cha	siyā

<i>Top.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	chā	(L)	ava	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Mīr.</i>	daṃḍa-sa[ma]	.	.	.	.	.	[me]	āvuti	[ba]ṃdhana-	
<i>Ar.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Nand.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>Rām.</i>	daṃḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āvā	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-
<i>All.</i>	da[m]ḍa-samatā	cha	(L)	āva	ite	pi	cha	me	āvuti	baṃdhana-

<i>Tōp.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīl[i]ta-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasā[n]i
<i>Mīr.</i>	[badh]ānaṃ	munisā[naṃ]	.	.	.	divasāni
<i>Ar.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisā[na]ṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	badhānaṃ	munisānaṃ	tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ	pata-vadhānaṃ	tiṃni	divasāni

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	yote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Mīr.</i>	[m]e	y[o]te	diṃne	(M)	. . . . .			payisa[m]ti	j[i]v[i]tāye
<i>Ar.</i>	me	yote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Nand.</i>	me	[yo]te	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>Rām.</i>	me	[y]ote	diṃne	(M)	nātikā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye
<i>All.</i>		yote	diṃne	(M)	....[k]ā	va	kāni	nijhapayisaṃti	jīvitāye

<i>Tōp.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Mīr.</i>	tāna[m]	nāsaṃtaṃ	[v]ā	ni	.	.	pālatikaṃ
<i>Ar.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayi[ta]ve	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Nand.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayi[tav]e	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>Rām.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	va	nijhapayitave	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ
<i>All.</i>	tānaṃ	nāsaṃtaṃ	vā	nijhapayitā	dānaṃ	dāhaṃti	pālatikaṃ

<i>Tōp.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Mīr.</i>	u[pa]vāsaṃ	vā	k[a]....	(N)	.	.	.	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Ar.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Nand.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>Rām.</i>	upavāsaṃ	va	kachhaṃti	(N)	ichhā	hi	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi
<i>All.</i>	upavāsaṃ	vā	[ka]chha[m]ti	(N)	....	[h]i	me	hevaṃ	niludhasi	pi

<i>Tōp.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Mīr.</i>	[k]ālasī	pā[la]tam	ālādha[ye]	.	.	.	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Ar.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	va[ḍha]ti	vividhe
<i>Nand.</i>	[kālas]i	pālatam	ālādhayevū	t[i]	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>Rām.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayevū	ti	(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe
<i>All.</i>	kālasī	pālatam	ālādhayev[u]		(O) janasa	cha	vaḍhati	vividhe

<i>Tōp.</i>	dhamma-chalane	saṁyame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Mīr.</i>	dhamma-chal[a]ne	saṁyame	dā[na]	.
<i>Ar.</i>	dha[m]ma-chalane	sayame	dāna-saṁvibhāge	ti
<i>Nand.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>Rām.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	ti
<i>All.</i>	dhamma-chalane	sayame	dāna-savibhāge	

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	ahā	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena
<i>Ar.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Nand.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa
<i>Rām.</i>	(A) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(B) saḍuvīsati-[va]sābhisitena
<i>All.</i>	(A) [p]iye	Piyadasī	lājā	hevaṁ	āhā	(B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena

<i>Tōp.</i>	me	imāni	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyathā	suke	sālikā	alune
<i>Ar.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika
<i>Nand.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyath[ā]	suke	sālika
<i>Rām.</i>	me	imāni	pi	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālika
<i>All.</i>	me	imāni	jātāni	avadhiyāni	kaṭāni	seyatha	suke	sālikā	alune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūkā	ambā-kapilikā	daḷi
<i>Ar.</i>	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>Nand.</i>	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>Rām.</i>	chakavāke	haṁse	naṁdīmukhe	gelāṭe	jatūka	ambā-kapilika	duḷi
<i>All.</i>	chaka[v]āke	.	[naṁdī]m[u]khe	gelāṭe	jatūk[ā]	ambā-kapilikā	duḍi

<i>Tōp.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭ[a]-
<i>Ar.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
<i>Nand.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
<i>Rām.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-pupuṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-
<i>All.</i>	anaṭhika-machhe	vedaveyake	Gaṁgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake	saṁkuja-machhe	kaphaṭa-

<i>Tōp.</i>	sayake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Ar.</i>	seyake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Nand.</i>	seyake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>Rām.</i>	seyake	paṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍake	okapiṁḍe	palasate	seta-kapote
<i>All.</i>	....k[e]	p[a]ṁna-sase	simale	saṁḍa	.	.	[ta]-kapote

<i>Tōp.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭipogam	no	eti	no	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	gāma-kapote	save	chatupade	ye	paṭibhogam	no	eti	na	cha
<i>All.</i>	gāma-kapote	sa[v]e	chatu[pa]de	ye	paṭ[i]bhogam	[no]	.	.	.

<i>Top.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	..... i	[e]lakā	chā	sūkali	chā	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā	
<i>Ar.</i>	khādiy[a]ti	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sukali	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>Nand.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḍakā	cha	sūkali	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>Ram.</i>	khādiyati	(C)	ajakā	nāni	eḷakā	cha	sūkali	cha	gabhinī	va	pāyamīnā
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	nā	.	.	.	.	[p]ā[ya]mī	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	va	avadhi[y.	p.ta]ke	pi	cha	kāni	āsāṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Mīr.</i>	.	.	[potake	pi	cha]	k[ā]n[i]	.	ke	(D) [vadh]i-kukuṭe
<i>Ar.</i>	va	avādhyā	potake		cha	kāni	āsāṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Nand.</i>	va	avādhyā	potake		cha	kāni	āsāṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe
<i>Rām.</i>	va	avādhyā	potake		cha	kāni	āsāṁmāsike	(D)	vadhi-kukuṭe

<i>Tōp.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpetaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	vā
<i>Mīr.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajī[ve]	.	ta[v]iye	(F)	dāve	[a]naṭhāye	vā
<i>Ar.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va
<i>Nand.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va
<i>Rām.</i>	no	kaṭaviye	(E)	tuse	sajīve	no	jhāpayitaviye	(F)	dāve	anaṭhāye	va
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	sajīve	no	jhā[pa]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	jhāpetaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	vihiṣāye	vā	no	[jhāpe]ta[vi]ye	(G)	jī[v]ena	jī[v]e	no	pusi[ta]viye
<i>Ar.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusita iye
<i>Rām.</i>	vihiṣāye	va	no	jhāpayitaviye	(G)	jīvena	jīve	no	pusitaviye

<i>Tōp.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātuṁmāsīsu	tisāyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātuṁmāsīsu	[t]isāya[m]	pu[m]na[mā]si[ya][m]	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Ar.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātuṁmāsīsu	tisyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Nand.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātuṁmāsīsu	tisiyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>Rām.</i>	(H)	tisu	chātuṁmā[s]isu	tisyaṁ	puṁnamāsiyaṁ	tiṁni	divasāni
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	[n]i

<i>Tōp.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadāy[e]	dhuvāye	chā	anuposathaṁ
<i>Mīr.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	p[a]ṭipadā	dh[r]uvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḷasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḷasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	chāvudasaṁ	paṁnaḍasaṁ	paṭipadaṁ	dhuvāye	cha	anuposathaṁ
<i>All.</i>	chā[v]u[da]saṁ	[pa]ṁcha[da]	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yevā	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Mīr.</i>	machhe	avadhiye	no	pi	viketav[i]ye	(I)	etān[i]	yeva	divasāni	n[ā]ga-
<i>Ar.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Nand.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-
<i>Rām.</i>	machhe	avadhye	no	pi	viketaviye	(I)	etāni	yeva	divasāni	nāga-

<i>Tōp.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	van[a]si	kevaṭa-bhogasi	y[ā]ni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyān[i]	no	[ha]ṁtaviyāni
<i>Ar.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nik[ā]yāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Nand.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni
<i>Rām.</i>	vanasi	kevaṭa-bhogasi	yāni	aṁnāni	pi	jīva-nikāyāni	no	haṁtaviyāni

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhamī-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Mīr.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye	[chā]vudasāye	paṁ[na]ḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḷasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>Ÿ</i>) aṭhami-pakhāye	chāvudasāye	paṁnaḍasāye	tisāye	punāvasune	tīsu

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	eḍake	sūkale
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitavi[y]e	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Ar.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Nand.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale
<i>Rām.</i>	chātumṁmāsīsu	sudivasāye	gone	no	nīlakhitaviye	ajake	eḷake	sūkale

<i>Tōp.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>) tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Mīr.</i>	e vā pi aṁ[n]e	nī[la]khi[ya]ti	[no]	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>) tisāye	punāvasun[e]
<i>Ar.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>) tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Nand.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>) tisāye	punāvasune
<i>Rām.</i>	e vā pi aṁne	nīlakhiyati	no	nīlakhitaviye	(<i>K</i>) tisāye	punāvasune

<i>Tōp.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Mīr.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātu[m]māsī-pakhāye	asvasā	gonasā	lakhane	no	....[v]iye
<i>Ar.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Nand.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>Rām.</i>	chātumṁmāsīye	chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye	asvasa	gonasa	lakhane	no	kaṭaviye
<i>All.</i>	.	.	.	.	[lakha]n[e]	no	kaṭaviye]

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Mīr.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena	me	etāye	a[m]talikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>L</i>) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena	me	etāye	aṁtalikāye	paṁnavīsati
<i>All.</i>	(<i>L</i>) [y]ā . . . . .	.	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Mīr.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Ar.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Nand.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni
<i>Rām.</i>	baṁdhana-mokhāni	kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

<i>Tōp.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āhā	(<i>B</i>) duvāḍasa-
<i>Ar.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>) duvā[ḍa]sa-
<i>Nand.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>) duva[ḷa]s[a]-
<i>Rām.</i>	(<i>A</i>) Devānaṁpiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevaṁ	āha	(<i>B</i>) duvāḍasa-
<i>All.</i>	(<i>A</i>) [p]iye	[P]iyada[s]i	l[ā]	.	.	.

<i>Tōp.</i>	vasa-abhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	lokasā	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Ar.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Nand.</i>	[va]sābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ
<i>Rām.</i>	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	taṁ

<i>Tōp.</i>	apahaṭā	taṁ	taṁ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpovā	(C)	hevaṁ	lokasā	hita-
<i>Ar.</i>	apahaṭa	taṁ	taṁ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṁ	lokasa	hita-
<i>Nand.</i>	apahaṭa	taṁ	taṁ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṁ	lokasa	hita-
<i>Rām.</i>	apahaṭa	taṁ	taṁ	dhamma-vaḍhi	pāpova	(C)	hevaṁ	lok[a]sa	hita-
<i>All.</i>	. . . .	t[am]	. . . .	[dh]i	[pā]....	(C)	heva[m]	lokasa]	hita-

<i>Tōp.</i>	[sukhe]	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṁ	patiyāsaṁnesu
<i>Ar.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṁ	patyāsaṁnesu
<i>Nand.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	athā	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṁ	patyāsaṁnesu
<i>Rām.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	iyam	nāṭisu	hevaṁ	patyāsaṁnesu
<i>All.</i>	sukhe	ti	paṭivekhāmi	atha	[iya]m	. . . .	[va]m	[paty]āsa[m]ne[su]

<i>Tōp.</i>	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kimam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tatha	cha
<i>Ar.</i>	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Nand.</i>	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
<i>Rām.</i>	hevaṁ	apakaṭhesu	kimmam	kāni	sukham	āvahāmī	ti	tathā	cha
<i>All.</i>	[heva]m	apaka[ṭh]e[su]	kimam	[k]ā[ni]	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemevā	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṁḍā
<i>Ar.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṁḍā
<i>Nand.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-nikāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṁḍā
<i>Rām.</i>	vidahāmi	(D)	hemeva	sava-n[i]kāyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	sava-pāsaṁḍā
<i>All.</i>	[v].[dah]āmi	(D)	hevaṁmeva	[sa]va..[k]āyesu	paṭivekhāmi	(E)	[sa]va-pāsaṁḍā

<i>Tōp.</i>	pi	me	pūjitā	vividhāya	pūjāyā	(F)	e	chu	iyam	at[a]nā	pachūpagamane
<i>Mir.</i>	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	ūpagamane
<i>Ar.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e	chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Nand.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e	chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>Rām.</i>	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	pūjāya	(F)	e	chu	iyam	atana	pachūpagamane
<i>All.</i>	pi	me	pūjitā	vividhāya	[pū]jāyā	(F)	e	chu	iy[a]m	atanā	pachupagamane

<i>Tōp.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Mir.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mate	(G)	saḍu isitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Ar.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Nand.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisati-va[s]ābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>Rām.</i>	se	me	mokhya-mute	(G)	saḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena	me	iyam	dhamma-
<i>All.</i>	se	me	mukhya-mute	(G)	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

<i>Tōp.</i>	lipi	likhāpitā
<i>Mir.</i>	li[pi]	li
<i>Ar.</i>	lipi	likhāpita
<i>Nand.</i>	lipi	likhāpita
<i>Rām.</i>	lipi	likhāpita
<i>All.</i>	lipi	likhāpitā ti

<i>Rūp.</i>	iya paka[rā va] kiti chira-ṭhitike siyā (I) iya hi aṭhe
<i>Sah.</i>	chila-ṭhit[ike] cha p[a][ā]kame hotu (I) iya[m] cha [aṭhe]
<i>Bair.</i>	[ch]ila-ṭhit
<i>Mas.</i>	[se a] t[i]k[e] cha
<i>Brah.</i>	chira-ṭhitike cha iya[m] [paka] (Ṛ) iya[m] cha aṭhe
<i>Śidd.</i>	[chira]-ṭhi[t]ik[e] cha iya[m] pakame hoti (Ṛ)
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	. . . . . [cha]

<i>Rūp.</i>	vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti
<i>Sah.</i>	vaḍhisati vipula[m] pi cha vaḍhisati diyāḍhiya[m]
<i>Bair.</i>	. . . . . la[m] pi vaḍhisati
<i>Mas.</i>	. . . . . va[ḍhi]siti chā diya[ḍhi]ya[m]
<i>Brah.</i>	vaḍhisiti vipula[m] pi cha vaḍhisiti
<i>Śidd.</i>	va[ḍh]isiti vipu[la]m p[i] cha vaḍhisiti
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	.. [ḍhi]s [p]ula[m] pi

<i>Rūp.</i>	apaladhiyenā diyāḍhiya vaḍhisata (Ṛ) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u]
<i>Sah.</i>	aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]ḍhiya[m] vaḍhisati (L) ima cha aṭha[m] pavatesu
<i>Bair.</i>	. . . . . diyāḍhiya[m] vaḍhi[sa]ti
<i>Mas.</i>	he[va[m] ti
<i>Brah.</i>	avaradhiyā diyāḍhiya[m] [vaḍh]isiti
<i>Śidd.</i>	[a] [yaḍhiya]m vaḍhisiti
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	. . . . . [ya]ḍhiya[m]

<i>Rūp.</i>	lekhāpeta vāta (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā-
<i>Sah.</i>	[likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya . . . [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tha[m][bh]ā tata

<i>Rūp.</i>	ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajana[nā] yāvataka
<i>Sah.</i>	pi [likhāpayatha t]i
<i>Sār.</i>	(I) āvate

<i>Rūp.</i>	tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti
<i>Sār.</i>	cha tuphākam ahāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viya[m]jana[nā]

<i>Rūp.</i>	(M) vy[u]ṭhena sāvane kaṭe
<i>Sah.</i>	(Ṛ) iya[m] [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamānā
<i>Brah.</i>	(K) iya[m] cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena
<i>Śidd.</i>	(K) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ṇe
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	(K) i s[āvaṇe] [th]e[na]

<i>Rūp.</i>	(N) 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta
<i>Sah.</i>	lāti-satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6
<i>Brah.</i>	(L) 200 50 6
<i>Śidd.</i>	(L) [200] 50 6
<i>Ṭaṭ.</i>	(L) 200 50 6

INDEX

THIS index contains every word of Aśoka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha*, *pi*, *rā*, *hi*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Gīrnār.
Kāl. = Kālsī.
Shāh. = Shālbāzgarhī.
Mān. = Mānsehrā.
Dhau. = Dhaulī.
Jau. = Jaugadā.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhaulī and Jaugadā).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.

Mir. = Delhi-Mīrāth.
Ar. = Lauriyā-Ararāj.
Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangarh.
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.
Qu. = Queen's edict.
Kauś. = Kauśāmbī edict.
Sām. = Sāmchī.
Sār. = Sārānāth.
Rum. = Rummindēi.

Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.
Sah. = Sahasrām.
Bair. = Bairāt.
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.
Mas. = Maskī.
Brāh. = Brahmagiri.
Śidd. = Śiddāpura.
Jaṭ. = Jaṭīngā-Rāmēśvara.
Bar. = Barābar.

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Jau. III, 1, VI, 1, Sep. I, 1;
Tōp. I, 1, II, 11, IV, 1, VII, 11,
14, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31;
Mir. III, 1; All. V, 1; Sār. 6;
Rūp. 1; Bair. 1; Calc. 1.
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 -ibheshu Shāh. V, 12.
 -ibhesu Kāl. V, 15.
 -ibhyeshu Mān. V, 23.
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 imisa Shāh. III, 6, IV, 10.
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 -upadane Shāh. IX, 18.
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 -upadāne(ye) Kāl. IX, 24.
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 eka-desarā Gir. VII, 2; Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. VII, 2.
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 esatha Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 13.
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 -kaṁdhāni Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 2.
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 Kalim[ṁ]geshu Kāl. XIII, 39.
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 kasa[m]ti Gir. VII, 2.
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 [k]ānichī Töp. VII, 28.
 kāmarā Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Brah. 4; Sidd. 9.
 -kāmatā Kāl. XIII, 36; Töp. I, 6.
 -kāmatāya Ar. I, 2.
 -kāmatāyā Töp. I, 3.
 [kā]raṇam Gir. XIV, 5.
 kālam Kāl. VI, 17, 19; Dhau. VI, 1, 4; Jau. VI, 1, 4.
 kālanam Kāl. XIV, 23.
 kālanena Töp. III, 21.
 kālasi Töp. IV, 19.
 kālapita Rum. 3.
 kālapitā Töp. VII, 24.
 k[ā]lapitāni Töp. VII, 24.
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 Kālūvākiye All. Qu. 5.
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 kālena Brah. 3; Sidd. 7.
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 kiṁmarā Ar. VI, 3.
 kichi Gir. X, 3; Shāh. I, 1, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 22.
 kiche(chi) Shāh. XIV, 14.
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 kichhi Kāl. I, 1, VI, 18, 20, X, 28, XIV, 22; Mān. I, 1, VI, 28, 30, X, 10, XIV, 14; Dhau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 2, II, 1; Jau. I, 1, VI, 5, Sep. I, 1, II, 1.
 kiṭa Shāh. V, 12.
 kiṭarā Shāh. VI, 14; Mān. VI, 27.
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 kiṭanāt[ā] Kāl. VII, 22.
 kiṭabhikaro Shāh. V, 13.
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 kiṭ[ṭ]arā Shāh. V, 11.
 kiṭraṇata Shāh. VII, 5.
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 kiṭi (= kimiti) Gir. XII, 2; Kāl. VI, 20, X, 28, XII, 31, 33, 34, XIII, 15; Shāh. VI, 16, X, 22, XII, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, XIII, 8, 11; Mān. VI, 30, X, 10, XII, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, XIII, 12; Rūp. 4.
 kiṭi (= kirtim) Gir. X, 2; Kāl. X, 27, 28.
 kiṭim (*read* kintim) Dhau. Sep. I, 11.
 kinasu Töp. VII, 17, 18.
 -kipilikā All. V, 2.
 kimarā Töp. VI, 6.
 kiya Nand. II, 1.
 kiyaṁ Töp. II, 11.
 kilamte Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. I, 6.
 k[i]lamathena Dhau. Sep. I, 11; Jau. Sep. I, 6.
 kichhi All. Qu. 4.
 kiṭi Gir. X, 1.
 -kukute Töp. V, 9.
 kute Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8.
 kupa Shāh. II, 5.
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 -kubhā Bar. I, 2.
 -kumālānam Töp. VII, 27.
 kumāle Dhau. Sep. I, 23, II, 1; Jau. Sep. I, 11.
 kuvāpi Kāl. XIII, 39.
 kūpā Gir. II, 8.
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 kechi Calc. 2.
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 kechhi Mān. XII, 5.
 Ketalaputo Gir. II, 2.
 kenapi Sār. 3.
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 Keralaputra Mān. II, 6.
 Ke[lala]puto Kāl. II, 4.
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 koṭa-vishavesu Sār. 10.
 kodhe Töp. III, 20.
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 Kosambiyam All. Kauś. 1.
 -[kos]ikyāni Töp. VII, 23.
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 -[krama] Mān. VI, 27.
 k[r̥]ama[m] Shāh. IV, 10.
 -kramam Shāh. VI, 14.
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[kr]i[ta] Shāh. II, 4.
[ksham]ti Shāh. XIII, 11.
kshana Shāh. XII, 5.
-kshati Shāh. XIII, 8.
kshamanaye Shāh. XIII, 7.
kshamitaviya-mate Shāh. XIII, 7.

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khamti Kāl. XIII, 16.
-kh[a]mdhāni Gir. IV, 4.
-khakase Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
[kha]nas[i] Dhau. Sep. II, 10.
khanapita Shāh. II, 5.
khanasi Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10.
khane Jau. Sep. II, 16.
kha[ne]na Jau. Sep. I, 9.
khamitave Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau. Sep. II, 7.
khamisati Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau. Sep. II, 6.
Khalatika-pavatasi Bar. II, 3.
khādiyati Nand. V, 5.
khādiyati Tōp. V, 7.
khānāpātāni Tōp. VII, 24.
khānāpitā Gir. II, 8.
khānāpitāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4.
khuda Mān. IX, 3.
[kh]ud[arh] Dhau. IX, 2.
khudakā Rūp. 3; Sah. 4; Śidd. 11 f.
[khudak]e Mas. 6.
khudakena Kāl. X, 28; Mān. X, 11; Dhau. X, 4; Jau. X, 3; Rūp. 2; Sah. 3; Mas. 4 f.; Brah. 4; Śidd. 9.
khudā Kāl. IX, 24.
khudrakena Shāh. X, 22.
Khepi[m]galasi Jau. I, 1.
kho Gir. IX, 3, 7, X, 4; Kāl. IX, 25, X, 28, XIII, 14; Shāh. VI, 16, IX, 18, X, 22, XIII, 11; Mān. VII, 32, IX, 3, 4, X, 11; Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2, 3, 5; Tōp. I, 5, III, 19, VII, 30; Sār. 3; Calc. 3; Brah. 2, 4; Śidd. 5, 6, 9; Jat. 4.

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-Garṁdharanān Shāh. V, 12.
-Garṁdhārān Gir. V, 5.
-Garṁdhālān Kāl. V, 15.
-Garṁdhālesu Dhau. V, 4.
gachhema Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2.
gachheyam Gir. VI, 11.
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ga(gha)ṭite Shāh. XIV, 13.
gaṇanasi Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11.
gaṇanāyam Gir. III, 6.
-Gadharana Mān. V, 22.
gadhā Kāl. XIII, 13.
[ga]nanasi Kāl. III, 8.
ganīyati All. Qu. 4.
gabhāgārambī Gir. VI, 3.
gabhāgālasī Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.

gabhinī Tōp. V, 8.
-gamu[k]e Dhau. Sep. I, 6 f.; Jau. Sep. I, 3.
-garana Shāh. XII, 3.
-garaha Mān. XII, 3.
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-garahā Gir. XII, 3.
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garu-mat[o] Gir. XIII, 6.
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ga[la]hati Kāl. XII, 33.
-galahā Kāl. XII, 31.
galu-matatāle Kāl. XIII, 36.
galu-shu[shu*]shā Kāl. XIII, 37.
gahathāni Kāl. XII, 31.
-[gah]e All. Qu. 3.
-gāthā Calc. 5.
gāma-kapote Tōp. V, 6.
-gāmīni Tōp. III, 20.
-gāme Rum. 4.
gālave Calc. 2.
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gihiṭhānām Tōp. VII, 25.
-guṇā Brah. 10.
[gut]i All. I, 4.
-guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. XII, 2.
-guti Gir. XII, 3.
guruna Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. IX, 4.
g[u]r[u]-mata Gir. XIII, 2.
guru-matān Shāh. XIII, 3, 6, 7.
guru-matataraṇ Shāh. XIII, 3.
guru-mate Mān. XIII, 3, 6, 7.
guru-sūrusha Mān. XIII, 4.
guru-susūmā Gir. XIII, 3.
gurūnār Gir. IX, 4.
gulunā Kāl. IX, 25.
gulu-mate Kāl. XIII, 38, 39.
g[u]l[u]-mut[e] Kāl. XIII, 36.
gulusu Tōp. VII, 29.
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gevaṃyā Tōp. I, 7.
gehathani Mān. XII, 1.
gotī Tōp. I, 10.
gonasa Ar. V, 12.
gonasā Tōp. V, 18.
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grabhagarasi Mān. VI, 27.
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gra[ha]ṭha Shāh. XIII, 4.
grahathani Shāh. XII, 1.

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ghaṭṭam Gir. XIV, 2.
ghaṭṭite Kāl. XIV, 20; Dhau. XIV, 1; Jau. XIV, 1.
gharastāni Gir. XII, 1.
-ghosha Shāh. IV, 8.
-ghoshe Mān. IV, 13.
-[gh]o[sa] Bar. III, 2 f.
-ghosam Dhau. IV, 2.
-ghose Kāl. IV, 9.
-ghoso Gir. IV, 3.

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cha *passim*.
cham Calc. 2.
-chamḍa[m] Jau. Sep. I, 11.

chamḍiye Tōp. III, 20.
-[cham]ḍ[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
chamḍama-suliyike Tōp. VII, 31.
cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke Sār. 4.
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cha kam Kāl. IV, 11, XI, 30; Shāh. IV, 9; Mān. XI, 14; Brah. 11.
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chakiye Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Sah. 3, 4; Bair. 5.
[cha]kye Bair. 6.
[chakhu-dā]nā Mir. II, 2.
chakhu-dāne Tōp. II, 12.
chaghamti Tōp. IV, 10.
chaghati Tōp. IV, 11.
chaghatha Dhau. Sep. I, 19, II, 11; Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 16.
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-chati- Shāh. XIII, 12.
chatupade Tōp. V, 7.
-chatupadesu Tōp. II, 13.
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Chapaḍena Brah. 13.
chapalaṁ Tōp. I, 8.
-charaṇa Mān. IV, 16.
-charaṇam Gir. IV, 8, 9; Shāh. IV, 9, 10.
-charaṇe Gir. IV, 7, 10; Mān. IV, 15, 17.
-charaṇena Gir. IV, 3; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13.
-chalanam Kāl. IV, 11, 12; Dhau. IV, 5, 6.
-chala[n]āye Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 15.
-chalance Kāl. IV, 11, 12; Dhau. IV, 5, 6; Jau. IV, 5, 7; Tōp. IV, 20.
-chalanena Dhau. IV, 2; Jau. IV, 2.
-chal[an]enā Kāl. IV, 9.
chalitaviye Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Jau. Sep. II, 9.
chaley[ū] Jau. Sep. II, 7.
chalevū Dhau. Sep. II, 5.
chā Kāl. I, 2, II, 5, 6, III, 8, IV, 9, 10, 11, 12, V, 13, 14, 15, 16, VI, 18, 19, 20, VII, 21, 22, VIII, 22, 23, IX, 24, 25, 27, X, 27, 28, XI, 30, XII, 33, 34, 35, XIII, 36, 38, 39, 6, 12, 15, 16, 17, XIV, 21; Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 2, Sep. I, 9, II, 11; Tōp. I, 6, 7, 8, IV, 6, 15, V, 8, 12; All. Kauś. 3; Sār. 3; Rum. 3; Sah. 4; Bair. 6; Calc. 1, 5, 7, 8; Mas. 8.
chātām(tum)māsīsu Mir. V, 4.
-chātūm[māsam] Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 15.
chātūm[māsi]-pakhāye Tōp. V, 18.
chātūm[māsiye] Tōp. V, 18.
chātūm[māsīsu] Tōp. V, 11, 16.
chāvudasaṁ Tōp. V, 12.
chāvudasāye Tōp. V, 15.
chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.
-chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.
chikisakā Kāl. II, 5.
-chikisā Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 2; Jau. II, 2, 3.

chikichha Gir. II, 4.
 -chikichhā Gir. II, 5.
 chitbitu Kāl. IV, 12; Mān. IV, 17;
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 chirañ Gir. VI, 13.
 chira-thitika Mān. V, 26, VI, 31.
 chira-thitike Rūp. 4.
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 chira-thitika Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16.
 chilam-thitikā Tōp. II, 15 f.
 chilam-thitikā Ar. II, 4.
 chila-thitike Tōp. VII, 32.
 chila-thitikyā Kāl. VI, 20.
 chila-thitikā Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6; All. II, 3.
 chila-thitike Sah. 5; Calc. 4.
 chi[la]-thitikyā Kāl. V, 17.
 chila-thitike Sām. 8.
 chu Kāl. I, 4, V, 14, VI, 21, VII, 21, IX, 24, 25, X, 28, XII, 31, 32, XIII, 36; Shāh. I, 2, V, 11, VII, 3, 4, X, 22, XII, 1, 3, XIII, 3, XIV, 13; Mān. I, 2, 5, V, 20, VI, 30, VII, 33, IX, 4, X, 11, XII, 1, 2, 3, XIII, 3, XIV, 14; Dhau. I, 2, IV, 5, 6, VI, 7, IX, 2, 3, X, 4, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 10, 16, 23, II, 10; Jau. I, 2, 4, IV, 7, VI, 7, IX, 3, 5, X, 3, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 3, 6; Tōp. I, 5, II, 11, III, 19, VI, 8, VII, 13, 24, 26, 29, 30; Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Bair. 2; Calc. 3; Brah. 3; Śidd. 7.
 chum Sār. 3.
 [chū] Kāl. I, 4.
 cheva Gir. IV, 7, XIV, 3; Kāl. IV, 12, IX, 25, 26, XIV, 21; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. IX, 3, 7, XIV, 14; Dhau. IV, 5, IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2; Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27; Ar. I, 4.
 chevā Kāl. IV, 11; Tōp. I, 6.
 chesā Gir. XIII, 4.
 [Choḍa] Shāh. II, 3; Mān. II, 6.
 Choḍa-Parṇa Shāh. XIII, 9.
 Choḍa-Parṇiya Mān. XIII, 10.
 Choḍa-Parṇiya Kāl. XIII, 8.
 Choḍā Gir. II, 2; Kāl. II, 4; Jau. II, 1.
 chodasa-vasā[bh]i[sī]t[e]n[a] Nig. 1.

Chh

chhamdarñ Dhau. Sep. II, 6, 8;
 Jau. Sep. II, 8.
 chhamdarñald Tōp. IV, 9.
 -chhamdā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 -chhamde Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. Sep. II, 4.
 -chhamdo Gir. VII, 2; Shāh. VII, 3.
 chhapati Gir. XII, 5; Mān. XII, 4.
 -chhatim Gir. XIII, 7.
 -chhade Mān. VII, 33.
 chhanati Kāl. XII, 32.
 chhamitave Gir. XIII, 6.
 chha(sa)vachhare Rūp. 1.
 [chh]amdarñ Jau. Sep. II, 11.
 -chhamde Jau. Sep. II, 5.

chhāti Gir. XIII, 11.
 chhāyopagāni Tōp. VII, 23.
 chhudarñ Gir. IX, 3.
 chhudakena Gir. X, 4.

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Jambudipasi Rūp. 2; Bair. 4.
 Jambudipasi Sah. 2; Brah. 3.
 jatūka Ar. V, 2.
 jatūka Tōp. V, 4.
 jana Shāh. XIV, 13.
 janarñ Gir. IV, 4; Tōp. IV, 7, VII, 23.
 jan[a]padashi Kāl. XIII, 39.
 janapadasa Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36.
 [janapada]si Mān. XIII, 6.
 janapade Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 6.
 jan[a]shā Kāl. XIII, 36.
 janasa Gir. VI, 4, 5, VIII, 4, XIII, 2; Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8, VI, 14, 15, VIII, 17, XIII, 3; Mān. IV, 13, VI, 27, 28, VIII, 36, XIII, 3; Dhau. VI, 2, VIII, 3; Jau. VI, 2; Tōp. IV, 5, 19.
 janasa Kāl. VI, 18, VIII, 23.
 janasi Tōp. IV, 3, VII, 22.
 -janika Mān. IX, 3.
 -jani[yo] Kāl. IX, 24.
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 janena Gir. X, 4.
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 ja[lagh]o[sāgama]thāta Bar. III, 2 f.
 [jātā] Dhau. Sep. I, 12.
 jātāni Jau. Sep. I, 6; Tōp. V, 2, VII, 30.
 jāte Rum. 2, 4.
 jāte[h]i Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5.
 jānarntu Rūp. 3; Sah. 5; Bair. 7.
 jānarntu Calc. 8.
 jānapadarñ Tōp. IV, 7.
 jānapadasa Gir. VIII, 4; Dhau. VIII, 3; Tōp. IV, 12; Ar. IV, 2.
 jānapadasā Kāl. VIII, 23; Tōp. IV, 5.
 jānitu Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
 jānisarnti Dhau. Sep. I, 25; Tōp. IV, 6.
 jāneyu Brah. 6.
 jive Kāl. I, 1; Shāh. I, 1; Mān. I, 1.
 jivam Gir. I, 3; Dhau. I, 1; Jau. I, 1.
 jīva-nikāyāni Tōp. V, 14.
 jīvitāye Tōp. IV, 17.
 jīve Tōp. V, 11.
 -jīve Tōp. V, 9.
 jīvena Tōp. V, 11.

jivesu Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 3.
 joti-karndhani Shāh. IV, 8.

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Ṇ

ṇatika Shāh. V, 13.
 -ṇatika Shāh. XIII, 5.
 -ṇatikana Mān. XI, 13.
 -ṇatikanarñ Shāh. III, 6, XI, 23, Mān. III, 11.
 ṇatike Mān. V, 25.
 ṇa(ṇā)ṇikena Gir. IX, 8.
 -ṇatikesu Shāh. XIII, 5.
 ṇatina Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12, 14.
 ṇatina[m] Shāh. IV, 8.
 ṇanarñ Shāh. IV, 10.
 ṇayāsu Gir. VIII, 1.
 ṇatika Gir. V, 8; Jat. 18.
 -ṇatika Gir. XIII, 4.
 -ṇatikanarñ Gir. XI, 2.
 -ṇāt[i]k[e]na Gir. XI, 3.
 ṇatikesu Brah. 11.
 -ṇatike[su] Gir. XIII, 3.
 ṇātinarñ Gir. IV, 6.
 -ṇātinarñ Gir. III, 4.
 ṇātisu Gir. IV, 1.

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-ṭha[m]bhasi Rūp. 5.
 -ṭh[ab]h[e] Rūp. 5.
 -ṭhitika Mān. V, 26, VI, 31.
 -ṭhitike Tōp. VII, 32; Rūp. 4.
 -ṭhitikyā Kāl. VI, 20.
 -ṭhitikā Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6; All. II, 3.
 -ṭhitike Sah. 5; Calc. 4; Brah. 6; Śidd. 13.

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ta Gir. IV, 2, 10, V, 2, 4, VI, 2, 12, IX, 3, 5, 7, X, 3, XII, 6, XIII, 2; Kāl. X, 28; Shāh. XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 27, XIII, 8.
 ta (read ti) Rūp. 5, 6.
 tam Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 20, X, 22, XIII, 3, 6, 11; Mān. V, 19, IX, 7, 8, X, 10; Dhau. V, 1, Sep. I, 2, 26, II, 1; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 12, II, 1; Tōp. VI, 3, VII, 28; Calc. 4.
 Tambaparni Shāh. II, 4.
 Tambaparniya Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.
 Tambaparni Gir. II, 2 f.
 Tamba[pa]rñni Kāl. II, 4.
 Tambaparniya Kāl. XIII, 8.
 [Tarn]baparni Mān. II, 6.
 T[a]kha[s]ilāte Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Jau. Sep. I, 11.
 [ta]gi(śi) Kāl. XII, 32.

tata Gir. XI, 2, XII, 8, XIII, 4;
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4, 5; Töp. VII, 24, 30, 32;
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tatā Gir. XIII, 1; Kāl. XIII, 36,
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tad-amfiatha Mān. XII, 4.
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tadā anatha (*read* tad-anatha) Kāl.
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4; Rūp. 3, 5; Sah. 7, 8; Bair.
6, 7; Calc. 2, 4, 8; Mas. 6, 8;
Brah. 6; Sidd. 12.
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24; Jau. I, 4; Töp. IV, 16,
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-tisam Jau. Sep. I, 9.
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tuphesu Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau.
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Tosaliyam Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1.
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-thambhāni Töp. VII, 23, 32.
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-dānaṁ Gir. IX, 7, XI, 1.
dāna-[gah]e All. Qu. 3.
dāna-visagasi Tōp. VII, 27.
dāna-visagesu Tōp. VII, 27.
dāna-samvibhāge Ar. IV, 10.
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dāna-suyute Kāl. V, 16.
-[dā]nā Mir. II, 2.
dāni Rūp. 2; Mas. 4.
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-dāne Kāl. XI, 29; Dhau. IX, 6;
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-divasaṁ Gir. I, 8; Kāl. I, 3; Jau.
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-divaso Shāh. I, 2.
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 -phal[usa]m Jau. Sep. I, 11.
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 bahuvidhā Gir. XII, 2; Kāl. XII, 31.
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 bahuśu Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2; Tōp. IV, 3.
 bahuhi Gir. IV, 4; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.
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 bādham Gir. VII, 3, XIII, 2; Kāl. VII, 22; Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 2; Tōp. VII, 22; Ar. III, 3; Sah. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2, 3; Sidd. 6.
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 -bābhanānārṇ Dhau. VIII, 2, IX, 4; Jau. IX, 4.
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 -bramaṇanārṇ Shāh. IV, 7, VIII, 17.
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-bhamdata Shāh. III, 7.
 -bhamdatā Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3.
 bhamte Calc. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8.
 -bhagaṇ Shāh. XIII, 7.
 Bhagavaṇ Rum. 4.
 bhagavatā Calc. 3, 6.
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 -bhage Shāh. XIII, 7; Mān. XIII, 7.
 bhago Shāh. VIII, 17.
 -bhatakanaṇ Shāh. XI, 23, XIII, 5.
 -bhatakashi Kāl. XI, 29, XIII, 37.
 -bhatakasa Shāh. IX, 19.
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 -bhatakesu Tōp. VII, 29.
 bhatamayeshu Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22 f.
 bhatamayesu Kāl. V, 15.
 bhat[imayesu] Dhau. V, 4.
 -bha[ata] Mān. III, 11.
 -bhatakamhi Gir. IX, 4, XI, 2.
 bhata(tu)na Mān. V, 24.
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 -bhatita Shāh. VII, 5, XIII, 5; Mān. VII, 33.
 -bhatitā Gir. VII, 3; Kāl. VII, 22, XIII, 37.
 -bhatiya Shāh. XII, 5; Mān. XII, 5.
 -bhatiyā Gir. XII, 6; Kāl. XII, 33.
 bha[ati]e Mas. 7.
 -bhayāni Calc. 5.
 bhayena Ar. I, 3.
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 bhava-śuti(dhi) Mān. VII, 33.
 bhava-śudhi Shāh. VII, 2, 4 f.; Mān. VII, 32.
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 bh[ā]khati All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sār. 4.
 -bhāgiye Rum. 5.
 bhāge Gir. VIII, 5; Kāl. VIII, 23, XIII, 39; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 4; Sōp. VIII, 10.
 -bhāge Kāl. XIII, 39.
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 bhāt[ina]m Kāl. V, 16.
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 bhāva-sudhi Kāl. VII, 21, 22.
 bhāva-sudhim Gir. VII, 2.
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 bhāva-sudhi Dhau. VII, 1, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 bhāsita Calc. 3, 6.
 bhikhu All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5.
 bhikhuni All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sār. 4.
 bhikhuniye Calc. 7.
 bhikhuni-saṅghasi Sār. 5.

bhi[khun]inārṇ Sām. 3.
 bhikhu-[p]āye Calc. 7.
 bhikhu-saṅghasi Sār. 5.
 [bhikh]ū Sār. 4.
 [bhi*]khūna[m] Sām. 3.
 -bhita Ar. IV, 2, 6.
 -bhita Tōp. IV, 4, 12.
 bhūm[ja]mānasa Gir. VI, 3.
 bhutana Mān. IV, 14.
 -bhutana Shāh. XIII, 8.
 bhutanārṇ Shāh. IV, 7, 8, VI, 16; Mān. IV, 12, VI, 30.
 bhuta-pruva Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, 21.
 bhuta-pruvaṇ Shāh. VI, 14.
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 bhūtānārṇ Kāl. IV, 9, 10, VI, 20; Tōp. VII, 30.
 -bhumika Shāh. XII, 9; Mān. XII, 8.
 -bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.
 bhuya Gir. VIII, 5.
 bhuye Kāl. VIII, 23; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36; Dhau. VIII, 3; Tōp. VII, 30.
 bhūta-puve Gir. IV, 5.
 bhūta-pru[v]. Gir. VI, 2.
 bhūta-pruvaṇ Gir. V, 4.
 -bhūtā Mas. 4.
 bhūtānārṇ Gir. IV, 1, 6, VI, 11; Dhau. IV, 1, 4, VI, 5; Jau. IV, 4.
 -bhūtānārṇ Gir. XIII, 7.
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 [bhe]ri-ghoso Gir. IV, 3.
 bheli-ghosaṇ Dhau. IV, 2.
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 -bhogasi Tōp. V, 14.
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 -maṇḡalaṇ Gir. IX, 5; Shāh. IX, 19.
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 -maṇḡale Gir. IX, 4; Dhau. IX, 3, 4.

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majhimā Tōp. I, 7.
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-matatale Kāl. XIII, 36.
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-matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.
-mate Gir. VI, 9; Kāl. XIII, 38, 39; Shāh. I, 2, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 30, XIII, 3, 6, 7; Dhau. VI, 4; Tōp. VI, 9.
-mat[o] Gir. XIII, 6.
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mamayā Kāl. V, 13, 14, VI, 17, 19; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1; Tōp. VII, 24; Bair. 3.
mamā Kāl. V, 13, 16; Dhau. Sep. I, 5, 12, II, 6; Tōp. IV, 12.
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ma[ha]taneva Bair. 5.
[ma]hathāvē (*read ṭhāvahā?*) Kāl. X, 27.
mahathravahaṁ Mān. X, 9.
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-mahamatra Shāh. V, 11, 12, 13, XII, 9; Mān. V, 21, 26, XII, 8.
mahamatrana Shāh. VI, 14.
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mahā-apāye Dhau. Sep. I, 15.
mahātpā Brah. 6; Sidd. 12.
mahātpeneva Brah. 4; Sidd. 9.
mahāthāvēh[ā] Gir. X, 1.
mahānaśa[mbi] Gir. I, 7.
mahānaśasi Kāl. I, 3; Jau. I, 3.
mahāpāy[e] Jau. Sep. I, 8.
mahā-phale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3, Sep. I, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 8.
-mahamatā Kāl. V, 14, 16.
mahamat[e]hi Kāl. VI, 18.
mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 1; All. Kauś. 1.
mahāmāta[m] Jau. Sep. I, 11.
mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 25, II, 1, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 10, II, 14; Tōp. VII, 26; Brah. 1; Sidd. 2.
-mahāmāta Gir. V, 4, 9, XII, 9; Kāl. V, 14, XII, 34; Dhau. V, 3, 7; Tōp. I, 9, VII, 23, 25, 26.
mahāmātanaṁ Brah. 1; Sidd. 1 f.
mahāmāte Sār. 8.
mahāmātehi Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.
mahāmātesu Gir. VI, 6.
-mahalakānaṁ Tōp. VII, 29.
mahālake Gir. XIV, 3; Kāl. V, 16, XIV, 20; Dhau. V, 6.
ma[hāla]kesu Dhau. V, 5.
mahidāyo Gir. IX, 3.
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Māgadhe Calc. 1.
māta-pitisu Kāl. III, 8.
mātari Gir. III, 4, IV, 6, XI, 2.
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[mā]t[ā]-pitisu Jaṭ. 13.
m[ā]t[ā]-pitu-susūsā Dhau. IV, 4.
-mātu All. Qu. 5.
-mātraṁ Gir. XIII, 1.
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mādhuliyāye Jau. XIV, 2.
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-mite Kāl. XIII, 35.
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mit[r]a-sa[m]stu . . . Mān. XIII, 4.
mitra - sam[stuta] - ṇāṭikāna Mān. XI, 13.
mitra-samstuta-ṇāṭikānaṁ Shāh. III, 6, XI, 23; Mān. III, 10 f.
mitra-samstuta-ṇāṭinaṁ Gir. III, 4.
mitra-samstuta(ṭe)na Shāh. XI, 24.

mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-ñatika Shāh. XIII, 5.
mitra - saṁstuta - sahaya - ñatikeshu Shāh. XIII, 4 f.
mitra-saṁstutena Mān. IX, 6, XI, 13.
mitra-sastutena Shāh. IX, 19.
mitrena Gir. IX, 7.
mina Tōp. III, 18.
min[ā] Mīr. III, 2.
[m]īsaṁ-deva Sah. 3.
miśā Rūp. 2; Brah. 4; Śidd. 8.
misibhūta Mas. 4.
mukhate Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.
mukhato Gir. VI, 5; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, 28.
mukha-mut[a] Shāh. XIII, 8.
[mukha]-mute Mān. XIII, 9.
mukhā Tōp. VII, 27.
mukhya-mute Ar. VI, 5.
m[ute] Shāh. XIII, 1.
mut[o] Shāh. XIII, 6.
-mut[a] Shāh. XIII, 8.
-mute Kāl. VI, 19, XIII, 36; Mān. XIII, 9; Ar. VI, 5.
-mu[n]a (*read* -munisā) Jau. Sep. I, 2.
Muni-gāthā Calc. 5.
-m[uni]ṣaṇaṁ Mān. II, 8.
munisā Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1; Sah. 3; Brah. 3.
-munisā Jau. Sep. II, 2 f.
munisānaṁ Dhau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 4; Jau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 2, 10; Tōp. IV, 16, VII, 29, 30.
-munisānaṁ Kāl. II, 6; Tōp. VII, 23, 24.
munise Dhau. Sep. I, 5.
-munise Jau. Sep. I, 4.
-munisesu Dhau. Sep. I, 6; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 4.
munisopagāni Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3.
mula Shāh. XII, 2.
mulara Shāh. VI, 15.
mulani Mān. II, 8.
mulāni Kāl. II, 6.
mule Kāl. VI, 19, XII, 31; Mān. VI, 30, XII, 2.
musā-vādaṁ Calc. 6.
mūlaṁ Gir. XII, 3.
mūlāni Gir. II, 7.
mūle Gir. VI, 10; Dhau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 12; Jau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 6.
me Gir. V, 2, 8, VI, 3, 4, 8, 9, 13, X, 1; Kāl. III, 7, V, 14, 17, VI, 17, 18, 19, 20, X, 27, XIII, 15; Shāh. V, 11, 13, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 21, XIII, 11; Mān. III, 9, V, 20, 26, VI, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, X, 9, XIII, 12; Dhau. III, 1, V, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, VI, 1, 2, 4, 6, X, 2, Sep. I, 3, 16, II, 2; Jau. III, 1, VI, 2, 4, 5, 7, X, 1, Sep. I, 2, 3, 6, 8, II, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Tōp. I, 2, 7, II, 12, 13, 14, III, 17, 18, 21, 22, IV, 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, V, 2, 19, VI, 2, 7, 9, VII, 14, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25,

26, 27, 30, 31; Sām. 7; Calc. 8; Brah. 3; Sidd. 7; Bar. III, 3.
meñati Shāh. XIII, 11.
mai (*read* me) Brah. 6.
mokshay[e] Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23.
-mokhāni Tōp. V, 20.
mokhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5; Jau. V, 6.
mokhiya-mata Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2.
mokhya-mata Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2.
mokhya-mate Tōp. VI, 9.
mokhya-mute Nand. VI, 6.
Moneya-sūte Calc. 5.
morā Gir. I, 11.
mrigaviya Mān. VIII, 34.
mrig[e] Mān. I, 5.
mrugaya Shāh. VIII, 17.
mrugo Shāh. I, 3.

Y

ya Gir. IV, 10, V, 2, VI, 5, 6, 11, IX, 4, X, 3, XII, 3, 9, XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 7, 12; Mān. XIII, 13; Rūp. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Sidd. 5; Jaṭ. 3.
[ya] (*read* ye) Kāl. XIII, 37.
yaṁ Gir. X, 3; Kāl. VI, 18, 20, X, 27, XII, 35; Shāh. IV, 10, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 22, XII, 2, 9, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 28, 30, X, 9, XII, 9; Brah. 3; Sidd. 6; Jaṭ. 5.
yaṁ (*read* iyaṁ?) Dhau. IV, 8.
yaṁti Kāl. XIII, 11; Mān. XIII, 11.
yata Gir. II, 6, 7, XIII, 9; Kāl. XIII, 10; Sah. 7.
yatā Kāl. XIII, 38, 39.
yatra Gir. II, 7, XIII, 5; Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 9, 10; Mān. XIII, 6, 11.
-yatra Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 34.
yatha Shāh. II, 3, XII, 2, 8; Mān. III, 10.
[ya*][tha] Shāh. III, 6.
yathā Gir. II, 2, III, 3, IX, 9, XII, 2, 8; Kāl. III, 7; Tōp. VII, 22; Sidd. 11.
yathārahaṁ Brah. 11; Sidd. 20; Jaṭ. 18.
yada Shāh. I, 2.
-yada Mān. VIII, 35.
yadā Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3.
yadi Shāh. IX, 20.
yadiśaṁ Shāh. IV, 8, XI, 23.
yamatro Shāh. XIII, 6.
yava Shāh. IX, 19.
yavatake Mān. XIII, 7.
yaśo Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 9, 10.
yasho Kāl. X, 27, 28.
yasa Gir. VII, 3; Shāh. VII, 4; Mān. VII, 33.
yaso Gir. X, 1, 2; Kāl. X, 27; Dhau. X, 1, 2; Jau. X, 1.
yā Gir. XIII, 6; Dhau. IV, 6; Tōp. I, 9, VII, 28, 29; Rūp. 2.
-yātāṁ Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1.
-yātā Gir. VIII, 3; Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2.

-yātāṁ Gir. VIII, 1.
yāti Sār. 9.
yāni Gir. II, 5; Tōp. V, 14, VII, 28, 30.
yārisaṁ Gir. IX, 7, XI, 1.
yārise Gir. IV, 4.
yāvataka Rūp. 5.
y[ā]vata[k]o Gir. XIII, 5.
yāva - saḍuvisati - vasa - abhisitena Tōp. V, 19.
yāya-saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa Ar. V, 13.
yāva - saḍuvisati - vasābhisitena Nand. V, 14.
yāvu Sār. 7.
yujamtu Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 13; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 18.
yujamtu Dhau. IV, 7.
yujisanti Dhau. Sep. II, 10.
yu[j]ey[u] Jau. Sep. I, 10.
yujeyū Jau. Sep. II, 3, 4, 14.
yujevū Dhau. Sep. II, 3.
yuta Shāh. III, 6.
-yuta- Mān. V, 23.
-yu[ta]m Tōp. VII, 23.
yutani Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11.
-yutasa Gir. V, 5; Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22; Dhau. V, 4.
-yutas[ā] Kāl. V, 15.
-yutasi Kāl. V, 16; Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 25; Dhau. V, 7.
yutā Gir. III, 2; Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. III, 1.
-yutānaṁ Gir. V, 6.
yutāni Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3.
-yutāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5.
yute Gir. III, 6.
-yutena Tōp. IV, 6; Mas. 5.
y[ū]jeyū Jau. Sep. I, 3.
yūjevū Dhau. Sep. I, 6, 20.
ye Gir. II, 3, V, 5, 8, XII, 8; Kāl. II, 4, 5, V, 14, VI, 18, IX, 25, XII, 32, XIII, 35, 5, 12, 17; Shāh. II, 3, 4, V, 11, 12, 13, VI, 14, 15, IX, 18, 20, XII, 7, XIII, 1, 3; Mān. II, 5, 6, V, 19, 20, 22, 25, VI, 28, IX, 4, XII, 5, XIII, 9, 11; Dhau. V, 1, 2, Sep. I, 8; Jau. Sep. I, 4; Tōp. II, 16, IV, 3, V, 7, VII, 11, 30; Sām. 4; Mas. 4.
yena Kāl. XIV, 22; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14; Tōp. IV, 9, 12.
yeva Mān. I, 4, IV, 15; Dhau. IV, 6; Jau. I, 4, IV, 6; Tōp. VII, 29; Mīr. V, 7.
yevā Kāl. I, 3, XIV, 19; Tōp. V, 13.
yeśu Kāl. XIII, 37.
yesha Shāh. XIII, 5.
yeshaṁ Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5.
yesaṁ Gir. XIII, 4.
yesu Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4.
yehaṁ Kāl. VI, 20; Mān. VI, 31; Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 6.
yo Gir. V, 1, 3, 8, XII, 5; Shāh. V, 11, X, 21, XII, 5, XIII, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12.
yo (= ēva) Shāh. IV, 9, XIII, 11, XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 16.

yojana-śateshu Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9.
 [yo]jana-shateshu Kāl. XIII, 6.
 Yona-K[a]j[ā]mb[ō]ja]-Garṇdhārānām Gir. V, 5.
 yote Tōp. IV, 17.
 [Y]o[na]-Kambo . . Gir. XIII, 9.
 Yona - Kambocha - Garṇdhālesu Dhau. V, 4.
 Yona - Kambo[ō]ja - Garṇdhālānām Kāl. V, 15.
 Yona-Kamboja-Gadharana Mān. V, 22.
 Yona-Kambojeshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.
 Yona - Kamboya - Garṇdharanām Shāh. V, 12.
 Yona-Ka[m]boyesu Shāh. XIII, 9.
 Yona-raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 [Yo]na-rāja Gir. XIII, 8.
 Yona-rāja Gir. II, 3.
 Yona-lājā Kāl. II, 5, XIII, 6; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2.
 Yoneshu Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 6.
 Yone[su] Gir. XIII, 5.

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-rage Mān. VII, 33.
 -rago Shāh. VII, 3.
 raja Shāh. III, 5, VII, 1, VIII, 17; Mān. I, 2, III, 9, IV, 16, V, 19, VI, 26, VII, 32, VIII, 35, IX, 1, X, 9, 10, XI, 12, XII, 1.
 -raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9.
 rajani Shāh. XIII, 9.
 ra[jane] Mān. II, 6.
 rajano Shāh. II, 4.
 raja-vishava[si] Mān. XIII, 10.
 raja-vishavaspi Shāh. XIII, 9.
 rajina Mān. I, 1, IV, 18.
 rajine Mān. I, 3, 3f, II, 5, 6, IV, 13, 14, 16, VIII, 37, XIII, 1.
 rajuko Shāh. III, 6.
 rāṇa Shāh. I, 10, XIV, 13.
 rāṇo Shāh. I, 2, II, 4, IV, 7, 8, 9, VIII, 17, XIII, 1.
 Rathikanām Shāh. V, 12.
 Rathika-Pitnikana Mān. V, 22.
 rati Gir. VIII, 5; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VII, 36.
 -rati Shāh. XIII, 12; Mān. XIII, 13.
 [ra]ti Sōp. VIII, 9.
 rabhasiye Shāh. XIII, 8.
 raya Shāh. I, 1, V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 18, X, 21, 22, XI, 23, XII, 1.
 -raso Gir. XIII, 10; Shāh. XIII, 11.
 -rago Gir. VII, 2.
 -rāja Gir. XIII, 8.
 rāja-vi[sa]lyamhi Gir. XIII, 9.
 rājā Gir. I, 5, III, 1, IV, 8, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1, 2, 3, XI, 1, XII, 1.
 -rājā Gir. II, 3.
 rājāno Gir. II, 4, VIII, 1, XIII, 8.
 rājūke Gir. III, 2.

rāṇa Gir. I, 2, IV, 12, XIV, 1.
 rāṇo Gir. I, 7, 8, II, 1, 4, IV, 2, 5, 8, VIII, 5.
 Ri(Rā)stika-P[e]teṇikānām Gir. V, 5.
 ruchhani Mān. II, 8.
 rupani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13.
 rūpāni Gir. IV, 4.
 rochetu Shāh. XIII, 11.
 ropapita Mān. II, 7, 8.
 [ropa]pi[tani] Mān. II, 8.
 ropāpiti[ā] Gir. II, 8.
 ropāpitāni Gir. II, 6, 7.

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lakhane Tōp. V, 19.
 laghamti Tōp. IV, 8.
 lajā Kāl. X, 27, 28.
 lajāne Kāl. XIII, 7.
 lajinā Kāl. XIV, 19.
 la[j]u[k]e Dhau. III, 1.
 lajūka Ar. IV, 2, 5, 6.
 lajūkā Tōp. IV, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, VII, 22.
 lajūkānām Tōp. IV, 13.
 laj[ū]k[e] Kāl. III, 7.
 Lathika-[P]itenikesu Dhau. V, 4.
 -lati Kāl. XIII, 18.
 ladha Shāh. XIII, 11.
 ladham Shāh. IX, 20.
 ladhā Gir. XIII, 10.
 ladhe Kāl. IX, 27, XIII, 5, 12; Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 9, 11.
 ladhesh(shu) Kāl. XIII, 35.
 ladh[e]shu Kāl. XIII, 39; Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. XIII, 2.
 ladhesu Gir. XIII, 1.
 ladho Gir. XIII, 8; Shāh. XIII, 8.
 [la]pitām Shāh. XIV, 13.
 la[p]it[e] Kāl. XIV, 21f; Mān. XIV, 14.
 -lase Kāl. XIII, 13.
 laha(hu)kā Kāl. XII, 32.
 l[a]hiye All. Kauś. 2.
 labu Tōp. VII, 30.
 lahuka Shāh. XII, 3, XIII, 11; Mān. XII, 3.
 lahukā Gir. XII, 3; Kāl. XIII, 14.
 [lahuke] Tōp. VII, 24.
 lahu-da[m]data Shāh. XIII, 11.
 lahu-da[m]data Kāl. XIII, 16f.
 lahey[ū] Jau. Sep. II, 6.
 lahevu Dhau. Sep. II, 5.
 lā(li)khāpetavaya Rūp. 5.
 -lāgā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 -lā[g]e Kāl. VII, 21.
 Lāghulovāde Calc. 5f.
 lāja Kāl. IV, 11; Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Tōp. I, 1, II, 10, III, 17, IV, 1, V, 1, VI, 1; Bar. III, 1.
 l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. II, 1.
 l[ā]ja-viśavashi Kāl. XIII, 9.
 lāja Kāl. I, 2, III, 6, V, 13, VI, 17, VII, 21, VIII, 22, IX, 24, X, 28, XI, 29, XII, 31; Dhau. III, 1, IV, 5, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1; Jau. I, 2, III, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, IX, 1, Sep. II, 5, 6, 10; Tōp. VII, 11, 14, 19, 23, 26, 28, 29; All. I, 1, II, 1, III, 1, V, 1; Calc. 1.
 -lāja Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2.
 lajāne Dhau. II, 2, VIII, 1; Jau. II, 2; Tōp. VII, 12, 15.
 la[j]āno Kāl. II, 5.
 laj[ā]la[dh]i Dhau. Sep. I, 15.
 lajā[la*]dhi Jau. Sep. I, 8.
 lajina Rum. 1; Nig. 1.
 lajinā Kāl. IV, 13; Dhau. I, 1, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, II, 2; Bar. I, 1, II, 1.
 lajine Kāl. I, 2, 3, II, 4, 5, IV, 9, 10, 11, VIII, 23, XIII, 35; Dhau. I, 3, IV, 2, 3, 5, 8, VIII, 3, Sep. I, 26; Jau. I, 3, II, 1, IV, 2, 6, VIII, 4, Sep. II, 11.
 lajibi Tōp. VII, 24.
 lati Kāl. VIII, 23.
 lati-satā Sah. 6f.
 -lābhesu Gir. IX, 2.
 [li]khapita Mān. I, 1, XIV, 13.
 likhapitu(ta) Shāh. I, 1.
 likhapite Mān. IV, 18.
 likhapesami Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14.
 [likhāpayatha] Sah. 8.
 [likhāpa]yāthā Sah. 7.
 likhā[pa]yāmi Calc. 8.
 likhāpayisām Gir. XIV, 3.
 likhāpāpitā Tōp. VII, 31.
 likhāpita Ar. I, 2, II, 3, IV, 1, VI, 1, 5.
 likhāpitā Kāl. XIV, 19; Dhau. I, 1; Jau. I, 1; Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 likhita Shāh. I, 3; Mān. I, 4, V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 19; Jau. Sep. II, 14.
 likhitām Gir. XIV, 3, 5; Shāh. XIV, 14; Jat. 21.
 likhitā Gir. I, 10, V, 9; Kāl. XIII, 15; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, Sep. II, 9; Jau. I, 4, VI, 6, Sep. I, 10.
 likhite Kāl. IV, 12, XIV, 21, 23; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 18, XIV, 14; Dhau. IV, 7, 8, XIV, 2, 3; Brah. 13.
 likhiyis[āmi*] Dhau. XIV, 2.
 lipi Dhau. Sep. I, 17, 19, II, 9, 10.
 -lipi Kāl. I, 1, 3, V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 15, XIV, 19; Tōp. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10.
 lipim Sār. 7.
 lipikarāparadhena Gir. XIV, 6.
 li[pi]kareṇa Brah. 13; Jat. 22.
 li[p]ikalapalādhena Kāl. XIV, 23.
 lipi Jau. Sep. I, 9, 10, II, 14, 15; Sār. 6.
 -lipi Gir. I, 1, 10, V, 9, VI, 13, XIV, 1; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, 4, VI, 6; All. VI, 3.
 -libi Tōp. VII, 31, 32.
 Lurhmini-gāme Rum. 4.
 lukhāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4.
 lupāni Kāl. IV, 10.
 lupāni Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.

lekhāpitān Gir. IV, 11, 12.
 lekhāpitā Gir. I, 2, VI, 13, XIV, 1.
 lekhāpeta Rūp. 4.
 lekhāpēsāmi Kāl. XIV, 21.
 lekhitā Kāl. I, 1, 3, IV, 13, V, 17, VI, 20.
 -loka Dhau. Sep. II, 6.
 -loka- Gir. VI, 9, 11, 14, colophon;
 Kāl. VI, 19, 20; Shāh. VI, 15, 16; Mān. VI, 30, 32; Dhau. VI, 4, 5, 7; Jau. VI, 5, 7.
 -loka[in] Dhau. Sep. II, 6.
 lokasā Tōp. VII, 28; Ar. VI, 1, 2.
 lokasā Tōp. VI, 2, 4.
 loke Tōp. VII, 24, 28.
 -logam Jau. Sep. II, 7.
 -lochayitu Kāl. XIV, 23; Dhau. XIV, 3.
 lochetavyā Gir. IV, 12.
 -locheti Shāh. XIV, 14
 lochetu Kāl. XIII, 17.
 -lochetpā Gir. XIV, 6.
 lo[ch]e[sh]u Shāh. IV, 10.
 lopāpitā Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 3, 4;
 Jau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.
 lopāpitāni Dhau. II, 4; Tōp. VII, 23.
 lopitāni Kāl. II, 6.

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va (= ēva) Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 18, 19, X, 22, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7, XIV, 14; Mān. III, 10, IX, 6, 7, X, 10, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7; Dhau. IV, 1, Sep. I, 7, 23, II, 5; Jau. IV, 1; Tōp. III, 21, VII, 30; Ar. III, 2; Rūp. 3; Sah. 3; Mas. 6.
 va (=vā) Gir. V, 5, 8, VI, 2, 3, 7, 9, VII, 2, 3, IX, 5, 7, 8, X, 1, 2, 4, XI, 1, 3, XII, 2, 3, 5, 8, XIII, 2, 3, 4, 6, XIV, 5, 6; Kāl. XII, 31, XIII, 37; Shāh. V, 12, &c.; Mān. V, 22, &c.; Dhau. V, 1, 2, 6, 7, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2, Sep. I, 20, 21; Jau. V, 2, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2; Tōp. IV, 14, 17, 18, V, 8; Ar. IV, 2, 7, 8, V, 7; All. Qu. 3.
 va (abbreviation for vasāni) Rūp. 1.
 varṇanato Shāh. III, 7.
 vagam Dhau. Sep. I, 24.
 [va]ge Jau. Sep. I, 5.
 vagenā Kāl. X, 28.
 vagrena Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11.
 vacha-guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. XII, 2.
 -vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1.
 vachanena Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; Brah. 1; Śidd. 2.
 v[a]chanenā All. Qu. 1.
 vacha-bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34.
 vacha-bhūmīkā Gir. XII, 9.
 vachamhi Gir. VI, 3.
 vachasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.
 vachi-guti Gir. XII, 3.
 v[a]titaviya Jau. Sep. I, 7.
 v[ā]jita[v]ijy[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 13.
 -vadikā All. Qu. 3.

-vadikā Tōp. VII, 23.
 vadhati Tōp. IV, 20.
 vadhayati Gir. XII, 4; Mān. XII, 4.
 vadhayisati Gir. IV, 7; Dhau. IV, 5; Jau. IV, 5.
 vadhi Shāh. IV, 10; Rūp. 4.
 -vadhi Kāl. XII, 31, 34, 35; Shāh. XII, 2, 8, 9; Mān. XII, 2, 7, 9; Tōp. VI, 3, VII, 29, 30.
 vadhita Ar. I, 4.
 vadhitam Shāh. IV, 9.
 vadhitā Tōp. I, 6, VII, 28, 29, 30.
 vadhite Gir. IV, 5, 7; Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14; Dhau. IV, 1, 3, 5; Jau. IV, 1, 5; Nig. 2.
 vadhito Gir. IV, 1; Shāh. IV, 7.
 vadhithā Tōp. VII, 14, 17.
 -vadhiya Shāh. V, 12.
 vadhiyati Kāl. XII, 32.
 -vadhiyā Kāl. V, 15; Tōp. VII, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22.
 -[va]dhiye Dhau. V, 4.
 vadhisati Shāh. IV, 9.
 vadhisanti Tōp. VII, 29.
 vadhisata (read 'siti) Rūp. 4.
 vadhisati Tōp. VII, 22, 28; Ar. I, 4; Sah. 5, 6; Bair. 7, 8.
 vadhisiti Rūp. 4; Mas. 7 f.; Brah. 7, 8; Śidd. 14, 15.
 vadhi Dhau. IV, 7.
 -vadhi Gir. XII, 2, 8, 9.
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 hiraṇṇa-paṭivīdhāno Gir. VIII, 4.
 hiraṇṇa-paṭivīdhāne Sōp. VIII, 7.
 [hi]ṛa*ṇa - paṭivī[dhane] Mān. VIII, 35.
 hiraṇṇa-p[ā]ṭivīdhane Shāh. VIII, 17.
 hilaṇṇa-paṭivīdhāne Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 3.
 hini Gir. IV, 11; Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8.
 -hīni Dhau. IV, 7.
 -hīni Gir. IV, 11.
 hīyarṇ Brah. 4.
 huta-puluva Kāl. V, 14.
 huta-puluve Kāl. IV, 10, VI, 17.
 huta-pruve Mān. IV, 14, VI, 27.
 huthā Tōp. VII, 15, 20.
 huvarṇti Dhau. VIII, 1; Jau. VIII, 1.
 huvāti Sār. 6.
 [h]uveyā Dhau. X, 3; Jau. X, 2.
 huveyu Kāl. XII, 34; Mān. XII, 7.
 huvevu Dhau. Sep. I, 12.
 huvevū Dhau. Sep. II, 5.
 husarṇ Brah. 2; Sidd. 5.
 husu Kāl. VIII, 22; Mān. VIII, 34; Tōp. VII, 12; Rūp. 2; Mas. 4.
 hūta-puluva Dhau. V, 3.
 hūta-puluve Dhau. IV, 3, VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1.
 hermēva All. I, 4.
 h[e]dishe Kāl. XI, 29.
 hedīsānā(ni) Kāl. VIII, 22.
 hedise Kāl. IX, 25.
 heta Kāl. IX, 24, X, 28; Dhau. V, 2, XIV, 3; Jau. XIV, 2; Sōp. VIII, 6.
 hetā Kāl. V, 14, VIII, 23, IX, 25, XIV, 21; All. Qu. 2; Sah. 8.
 hetute Mān. III, 11; Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 4.
 hetuto Gir. III, 6; Shāh. III, 7.
 hetuvatā Kāl. III, 8.
 hedisameva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Sār. 7.
 hedisā Sār. 6.
 hedisāye Dhau. IX, 2; Jau. IX, 2.
 hedise Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3.
 hemeva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Jau. Sep. I, 3; Tōp. VII, 25; Ar. I, 5, VI, 4; Sār. 10; Brah. 9, 10; Sidd. 18, 19; Jat. 12, 13, 16, 19.
 hemevā Tōp. I, 8, VI, 6.
 heva Kāl. XII, 32; Rām. I, 1.
 hevarṇ Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, 19, XI, 29, XII, 33; Dhau. III, 1, 2, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, IX, 1, 5, Sep. I, 14, 18, II, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11; Jau. III, 1, VI, 1, 4, Sep. I, 1, 6, 7, II, 1, 5, 6, 9, 10 f., 13, 16; Tōp. I, 1, II, 11, 15, 16, III, 17, 19, IV, 1, 12, 19, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, 5, VII, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31; All. Qu. 4; Sār. 5, 6; Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Calc. 3; Mas. 5, 7, 8; Brah. 1, 8, 12; Sidd. 3; Jat. 15, 20, 21.
 hevarṇmeva Dhau. Sep. I, 13; Jau. Sep. II, 4; All. VI, 2.
 hevarṇmevā Calc. 8.
 hevamevā Kāl. XIII, 8.
 hoti Gir. VIII, 3, XI, 4, XII, 9, XIII, 10; Kāl. IV, 12, VI, 19, VIII, 23, IX, 27, XI, 30, XII, 35, XIII, 37, 38, 13; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. IV, 17, VI, 28, VIII, 35, 36, IX, 8, XI, 14, XIII, 8, 11; Dhau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 8; Jau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 4, 8; Sōp. VIII, 6, 9; Tōp. IV, 11, VII, 31; Sidd. 13.
 hotu Kāl. V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 18; Mān. V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 13; Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6; Tōp. VII, 31; Sah. 5.
 hotū Tōp. II, 16.
 hosarṇti Tōp. VII, 23.
 hosati Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
 hosatī Calc. 4.
 hosāmi Dhau. Sep. II, 8.
 hosāmī Jau. Sep. II, 12.
 hoharṇti Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27.
 hveyū Jau. Sep. I, 6, II, 5.

CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyushṭa*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the *Sahasrām* edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' The translations of the corresponding portions of the *Rūpnāth* and *Brahmagiri* edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vivāsayātha* at *Sārṇāth* (section I, p. 162) and *vivasetavā[ya]* (read *vivāsetaviye*) at *Rūpnāth* (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and *vivāsāpayāthā* at *Sārṇāth* (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns)'. See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. *For instruction read exhortation.*

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. *Read as follows:* The two Sanskrit masculines *prāṇa* and *vyiksha* are used as neuters: *pānāni* (I, 3, 4) and [*lu*]*khāni*² (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. *Add:* According to the *Suttanipāta*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. *For ta*² (M) *etāya read* (M) *ta etāya.*

" " Cancel note 2.

" 13, section (M). *For:* For the following purpose *read:* Now for the following purpose.

" 15, note 7, line 4. *For XIII, I read XIII, 1. 4.*

" 56, note 21. *For the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.*

" 69, section (M). *For converts read exhorts.*

" " note 3. *Add:* See also *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, sec. ed., p. 57. महा हसन्ति occurs already in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, *Vārttika* 3.

" 73, Roman text, line 9. *For duva[a]śa- read duva[ḍa]śa-.*

" 95, line 3. *For* (thus) *read* (this).

" 96, section (N). *For arise to you read arise in you.*

" " (T). *For badly fulfils this duty read fulfils this duty badly.*

" 97, " (V). *For edict read rescript.*

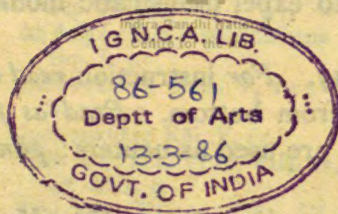
" " (CC), line 3. *For thus, as read just as.*

" 99, Translation, section (A). *For* (thus) *read* (this).

" " " (E), line 2. *For thus read so.*

" 100, section (I). *For inspire confidence to them read inspire them with confidence.*

- Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
- " " " (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
- " 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
- " 119, Nāgarī text, line 4. *For* सुसूयाया *read* सुसूसाया.
- " " Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
- " 133, note 6, line 3. *For* kākapāda *read* kākapada.
- " 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
- " 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukataṃ *read* sukaṭaṃ.
- " 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgarī text, line 3. *For* हेष *read* हव.
- " 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For* sukataṃ *read* sukaṭaṃ.
- " 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]tī *read* . . . [ki]tī.
- " 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tiṃ.
- " 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [āl]as[y]e[na] *read* [āla]s[y]e[na].





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